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AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

*A TEXT-BOOK FOR GRAMMAR SCHOOLS ON THE
HISTORY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES*

BY

JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND POLITICS IN INDIANA UNIVERSITY

AND

THOMAS FRANCIS MORAN, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND ECONOMICS IN PURDUE UNIVERSITY

"The history of the world is not intelligible
apart from the government of the world."

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this volume is to set forth the essential facts in the history of the United States and to explain the general principles of our national and local governments. It is our belief that "the history of the world is not intelligible apart from the government of the world," and also that government cannot be fully understood apart from history. Each throws light upon the other. We have therefore combined the history and government of the United States in a single volume, believing that by so doing the presentation of each will be strengthened.

It is not necessary to argue the necessity of teaching Civics in our schools. The school child of to-day will be the citizen of to-morrow and should have an adequate training for the responsibilities of citizenship. The American citizen governs himself, and to do so successfully he must be familiar with the principles of self-government as contained in the Constitution of the United States and also in the constitution of his own state.

It is true that Civil Government is quite generally taught in our high schools, but frequently not until the fourth year. In that case only a small proportion of our boys and girls can avail themselves of the benefits of such a course, as a large number of them conclude their school work with the grammar grades and only a comparatively few are graduated from the high school. It is safe to say that a very large majority of our pupils leave school without having had any direct and systematic instruction in Civil Government. This is the argument for placing the study of Civics in the grammar grades. In many cases this has already been done, but rarely with entire success. The

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obstacles are two in number. In the first place it is argued that the course of study for the grammar grades is already full and that no time, or at least not sufficient time, could be given to the study of Civil Government. In the second place it is held to be difficult to interest children of grammar school age in laws and constitutions. In the preparation of this volume we have attempted to meet these two difficulties. By lessening the space usually given to many miscellaneous and disconnected topics we have obtained space for a more adequate treatment of the important themes and movements that have been decisive in our national development, while at the same time we have set forth the principles and forms of the American government, both state and national, to an extent sufficient for the needs of pupils of the grammar grades. Both the history and the government—the entire book—can be completed in the two years usually given to the history alone. A further crowding of the course of study is thus obviated.

Civil Government is, moreover, greatly vitalized by being taught in connection with history. Our constitutions and laws, taken by themselves, are not matters of great interest to young children, but when studied in connection with American history and with the proper historical background they take on a new life.

We have aimed to connect directly in the pupil's school work the study of his country's history with the study of his country's government. Teachers of History and Civil Government recognize the interdependence of these two subjects. The Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association expressed a feeling common to many teachers by saying: "Much time will be saved and better results obtained if History and Civil Government be studied in large measure together, as one subject rather than as two distinct subjects. . . . What we desire to emphasize is the fact that the two subjects are in some respects one, and that there is a distinct loss of energy in studying a small book on American History and afterwards a small book on Civil Government, or *vice versa*, when by com-

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binning the two a substantial course may be given." (Report on "The Study of History in Schools," 1898.)

The plan of the book is simple and, we think, logical. The essential facts of American history, from the period of the discovery to the close of the Revolution, are set forth together with their meaning. The causes of the failure of the Articles of Confederation and the necessity for a stronger form of government are then explained. The work of the Constitutional Convention is then briefly reviewed, after which a study is made of national and local government. The historical narrative is then resumed at the beginning of the national period (1789) and brought down to the present time. The pupil is thus made to see in logical order the failure of the old form of government and the making of the new. He also studies the character of the new Constitution and notes its actual operation after 1789. He is shown that the Nation and its Constitution are a growth, not a creation ; they are studied and explained in the light of their development and in a form simple enough to appeal to the interest and understanding of young pupils. The *making*, the *nature*, and the *operation* of the Constitution thus follow each other in natural sequence, and the study of American government is placed where it should logically come. It is placed where it grew. It appears in its natural setting. Many other phases of civil government are discussed here and there throughout the book, where they form a natural part of the narrative.

Great national movements and questions have been emphasized, while unimportant details and non-essentials have been reduced to a minimum, or omitted altogether. The space usually given to military history has been greatly reduced. The causes and results of our national wars have been fully explained, but the details of marches and counter marches have been reduced to their lowest terms. While the patriotism of war is recognized, the spirit of war is not exalted. An attempt has been made to give the pupil a clear idea of the plan of the campaign without burdening his mind

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and wearying his brain with the minute details of military maneuvers.

Some school histories devote much valuable space to the Johnstown flood, the Charleston earthquake, the Boston fire, Western blizzards, and topics of a similar character. These we have eliminated. Vivid accounts of such matters may be interesting to children, but they do not lead to an understanding of the salient features of our political and industrial development. They are matters of journalism rather than of history, and have had no influence upon the trend of national life.

In dealing with disputed questions an effort has been made to be fair to both sides. In discussing the American Revolution we have made an honest endeavor to do full justice to the British as well as to the American cause; and in the treatment of the problems of the Civil War we have sought to recognize the merits of both North and South. It is the duty of the historical writer to ascertain and to set forth the truth without partiality.

We have also sought to tell the story without imposing our opinions upon the reader. We believe that the pupils, in the light of the story, may be left to exercise their own judgment on questions of right and wrong. We have not deemed it a part of our duty to tell the children that certain men were good and others bad; that some were "noble patriots," while their opponents were "rebels," "traitors," and "villains." Epithets of denunciation are out of place in a child's historical vocabulary. Children's opinions on controverted men and measures should be left without prejudice until a larger knowledge may enable them to form a judgment for themselves. To tell the facts with a fair statement of opposing views, to tell what men did, to explain their motives and convictions—this has been our purpose. But as impartiality does not involve indifference, approval is not withheld from the recognized characters and achievements in our history. Morals and patriotism will follow in the wake of truth.

In the matter of presentation no pains have been spared to

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make the narrative clear and simple. A large part of the manuscript was read by teachers of grammar grades, and some of it was actually taught to seventh and eighth grade classes.

We are indebted to a large number of teachers for valuable suggestions and criticisms in connection with the preparation of the manuscript and the reading of the proof. We would acknowledge our special obligation, however, to Professor Edward G. Bourne of Yale University; to Professor E. W. Dow of the University of Michigan; to Professor C. R. Fish of the University of Wisconsin; to Professor Andrew Stephenson of De Pauw University; to Miss Effa L. Horn of the Centennial School, Lafayette, Indiana; to Mr. and Mrs. Otis Johnson of the schools of Tippecanoe County, Indiana; to Mr. Edward H. Davis and Dr. W. R. Manning of Purdue University; and to Professor W. A. Rawles of Indiana University.

JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN.
THOMAS FRANCIS MORAN.

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AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE UNITY OF HISTORY

1. American History is the Outgrowth of European History. — It would be a mistake to suppose that in studying American history and government we are studying something which has no connection with the history and government of the rest of the world. American history is simply a part of general history, and not something separate and complete in itself. We must look upon the history of the world as one continuous story, and upon the study of history as one study. In short, we must recognize the unity of history. This means that the history of any one particular nation should be studied as a part of the history of the world. For our purpose it means that American history is an outgrowth of European history and should be studied in that light. When we study the history of the founding of the American colonies, we shall see that there is a very close connection between the history of the United States and that of England, France, Spain, and other European nations. In order to understand this connection, and to give to American history its proper historical setting, it will be necessary to note the position which the United States occupies in the history of the world's civilization.

2. The Earliest Civilization was in the East. — At the dawn of history the center of the world's civilization was in the East,

or the Orient, as it is sometimes called. The history of the world, in so far as it has been traced, begins with the peoples who lived in the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates rivers about five thousand years or more before the birth of Christ, or nearly seven thousand years ago. Egypt and Chaldea may be looked upon as "the twin sources of modern culture." Historians have been able to find no older civilizations.

3. The Egyptians made Advances in Industry, Literature, Science, and Art. — The early Egyptians made marked advances in agriculture, literature, religion, architecture, sculpture, painting, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and engineering, and transmitted their knowledge through the Hebrews, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans to the modern nations. They "lit the torch of civilization" and passed it on to their neighbors.

There is an undoubted connection between the history of Egypt and that of the United States. It is impossible, for example, to understand American history without an understanding of the Christian religion; and an understanding of Christianity is impossible without a knowledge of the religion of the Hebrews,—the authors of the Old Testament; and a thorough understanding of the Old Testament cannot be obtained without a study of the sacred writings of the Egyptians known as "The Book of the Dead." The close connection between the religion of the Hebrews and that of the Egyptians is explained by the fact that the Hebrews lived in Egypt for several centuries, and that Moses and other leaders of the people were educated by Egyptian priests.

4. The Civilization of Chaldea was quite Similar to that of Egypt. — While the Egyptians were making progress in the arts and sciences on the banks of the Nile, the Chaldeans were similarly occupied on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates. There was a striking similarity between these two early civilizations, and the land between the Tigris and Euphrates has been well called "The Asian Egypt."

5. The Hebrews were Teachers of Religion. — We get our first glimpse of the Hebrews about eighteen hundred or two thousand

years before Christ, when the patriarch Abraham and his followers left the "Ur of the Chaldees" and came to what is now Palestine. The Hebrews were not "mighty builders," as the Egyptians were. They were not a great industrial or commercial people. They were not artists or scientific men. Their one great contribution to the civilization of the world was their religious teaching. It is true that all ancient peoples had religions, but that of the Hebrews was of the most refining and elevating kind. It was called *Monotheism*, and consisted, as the name implies, in the worship of one God. It was their religion that made them a "peculiar people."

6. The Phœnicians were Traders, Navigators, and Colonizers. — A few centuries after the time of Abraham the Phœnicians became an important factor in Eastern or Oriental history. They occupied a narrow strip of land between the Lebanon Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea, and their principal cities were Tyre and Sidon. They were the merchants, the traders, the navigators, and the colonizers of the ancient Oriental world. Their greatest service to civilization was not in making advances in literature, art, or science, but in spreading the culture of other nations among the people with whom they came into contact. They were the "disseminators" or scatterers of civilization, and one of their chief exports was the alphabet. They spread the civilization of other nations.

7. The Persians were Soldiers and Rulers. — In the sixth century before Christ the great Persian Empire was founded. The Persians were brave soldiers and masterly rulers, and extended their sway over thousands of miles of territory from Asia Minor on the west to the Indus River on the east.

8. Summary of Oriental Civilization. — Such, then, were the beginnings of the world's civilization. The Egyptians and Chaldeans made some advances in industry, literature, art, science, and law; the Phœnicians were the spreaders of civilization; the Hebrews were the teachers of religion; and the Persians were the conquerors and governors who welded together an immense empire. The Chinese, Japanese, and Hindoos have

ancient and important civilizations, but as these peoples did not come into contact with other nations at this time, the influence of their civilizations need not be considered.

9. The Greeks were Literary Men and Artists. — After the decline of the Oriental nations the center of civilization moved westward and halted among the Greeks. Here for a few centuries flourished one of the most beautiful civilizations in all history. One writer calls the country “that point of light in history,” and another exclaims: “We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, . . . our art, have their roots in Greece.”

The connection between the civilization of Greece and that of the Oriental countries is unmistakable. “It was from the East,” Mr. Rawlinson declares, “that Greece derived her architecture, her science, her philosophy, her mathematical knowledge, — in a word, her intellectual life.” It is undoubtedly true that Greece did receive the beginnings of her culture from the East, but she was in no sense an imitator. She improved to such an extent upon what she received that some of her achievements in literature and art have never been surpassed and, in the opinion of some, never equaled.

The civilization of Greece reached its highest development during the so-called “Age of Pericles,” in the fifth century before Christ. During this “golden age” architecture, sculpture, painting, history, poetry, oratory, and philosophy were developed to a degree of perfection never before approached.

The “Age of Pericles,” 5th century B.C.

10. The Romans were Soldiers, Lawgivers, and Governors. — There came a decline in Greek power, however, and the center of civilization moved on to Rome. Greece became a Roman province and Rome ruled the affairs of the world. The Romans were very different from the Greeks. The Greeks were literary men and artists, while the Romans were soldiers, lawgivers, and governors. Rome began her career as an insignificant little village, or group of villages, on the banks of the Tiber, but in the course of a few centuries she became the mistress of the civilized world. In the second century of the Christian era the

Empire reached its greatest extent. It extended from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf on the east, and from the Rhine and Danube on the north to the Sahara Desert on the south. The Mediterranean Sea was then, in truth, a "Roman lake."

The civilization of Rome reached its highest development during the reign of Augustus, who was Emperor at the time of the birth of Christ. This was Rome's best, or "golden age." Her greatest artists, poets, historians, and orators lived at about this time. It was not in art or literature, however, that the Romans made their greatest contribution to civilization, but in law, politics, and government. In these subjects the Romans were masters; in art and literature they were imitators.

The Augustan or "Golden Age."

Rome, however, in spite of her power and magnificence, was destined, like the other states of antiquity, to fall. In 395 A.D. the Empire was divided into two parts: the eastern with its capital at Constantinople, and the western with its capital at Rome. The western part, from the historical standpoint, is by far the more important of the two. At the time of the division, and even before, the Empire had begun to decline. The Roman soldiers were no longer looked upon as unconquerable. The old fire and spirit seemed to be lacking.

The Empire was divided in 395 A.D.

11. The Germans invade the Empire.—The Germans or Teutons, as they are sometimes called, who lived to the north of the Danube River, were the most powerful of the foes of the Romans. As the Romans declined in power and spirit, the fierce, hardy, barbarian Germans obtained footholds in various parts of the Empire, and finally in 476 A.D. succeeded in putting one of their number on the throne at Rome. The Roman and the German then contended for the supremacy in the civilization of the Western Empire. The two were quite unlike. The Romans were far more cultured than the Germans, but the latter were more vigorous and virtuous, and

A Germanic chieftain is placed on the throne in 476 A.D.

The Roman Empire becomes "Germanized."

so triumphed in the end. After the lapse of a few centuries the German gained the upper hand, and the Empire in the West became thoroughly "Germanized."

12. Charles the Great is crowned Emperor on Christmas Day, 800. — The Germans continued to rule in the West, and finally there appeared among them one of the greatest men in European history. Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, was crowned Emperor on Christmas Day, 800, and immediately set about to educate his people and to improve his Empire. It should be borne in mind, however, that his Empire was not so extensive as the Roman Empire of the second century, which embraced the whole civilized world. The Empire in the East had cut off Greece and Asia Minor, and the Mohammedans, a religious sect which had originated in Arabia in the seventh century, had conquered western Asia, northern Africa, and Spain. The Empire of Charles the Great was thus of comparatively narrow

He is suc- limits, and to this Empire he gave his best efforts.
ceeded in He ruled his domains with a firm hand until his death
814 by his in 814, when he was succeeded by his weak son,
son Lewis Lewis the Pious. Lewis reigned until his death in 840,
the Pious. at which time the Empire was divided among his three sons.

These sons quarreled over their possessions, but finally, by the treaty of Verdun of 843, they came to a definite agreement. It was agreed that one son was to have the eastern part of the Empire, corresponding roughly to modern Germany; that another was to have the western part, corresponding somewhat to modern France; and that the third was to have a part of Italy and a narrow strip of territory extending from Italy to the North Sea.

13. The States of Modern Europe grew from the Divisions of the Empire. — Thus the great Empire in the West fell apart, and from its divisions grew the states of modern Europe. When the foundations of these states were laid and each had begun its independent development, the course of civilization advanced from Rome and branched out in various directions. There was

no longer a single center of civilization, but many centers. The treaty of Verdun helped to divide the river of civilization into several streams which flowed to the various capitals of Europe.

14. The Dark Ages and the Renaissance. — Some of these branches of the stream of civilization found their way, in due time, to America. In order to see clearly how this came about it will be necessary to retrace our steps somewhat. It will be remembered that the Germans took possession of the Empire in the West in 476 A.D. They came into the country in vast numbers both before and after this date, and their coming made a great change. The entire character of the Empire was transformed. The fires of its civilization seemed to be smothered as by a great, wet blanket spread over them. Then followed a period of ignorance and superstition, popularly known as the "Dark Ages." It seemed as if the lights of learning had been snuffed out by the hands of the rude, barbaric Germans. The people were not being educated and the writing of literature had almost ceased. This period lasted for about eight hundred years, or until the fourteenth century; at which time a remarkable change took place. During the "Dark Ages" the fires of civilization had not really gone out. They were slowly smoldering during all of that time, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they blazed up and burned more brightly than they had ever done. This period is called the *Renaissance*, or "the new birth," as the world seemed to be born again. The period began with "a revival of learning" in Italy. The old literature of Greece and Rome, which had been neglected for centuries, was now studied by the scholars of the time.

The course of civilization reaches America.

The "Dark Ages," 5th to 14th century.

The Renaissance, 14th and 15th centuries, began in Italy.

In addition to a revival of learning there was also a revival in other lines of activity. Men's minds were more active than they had been for centuries. The dust and cobwebs of the "Dark Ages" were being brushed from the brain of Europe. Commerce and industry had been revived, and cities had begun

to grow. Goods were manufactured in greater abundance, and trade routes were established to the extreme parts of the civilized world. Man was eager to find new and better routes for his trade, and as a consequence interest in geography and navigation was quickened. It was this latter desire, as we shall see later, that led to the discovery of the American continent. The famous discovery by Columbus in 1492 should be looked upon as the outgrowth of that remarkable revival in learning, industry, commerce, and navigation which took place in the latter part of the Middle Ages. The stream of civilization had penetrated to a new continent.

15. American Civilization was derived from Europe in General and from England in Particular. — The sources of American civilization constitute an interesting study. The civilization of Europe first came to America from Spain, as Columbus sailed from that country. At a later time it came from the British Isles, France, Portugal, Holland, Sweden, and other European countries. The majority of the leading nations of the world had a part in the exploration and colonization of the American continent. Consequently American civilization is a mixture, and it was a question for a time which element would come uppermost. We shall see, as we continue our study, that England and France obtained the strongest footholds in the New World, and that in 1754 they began a final struggle for the supremacy of North America. The English were victorious in this war, and English influence has since dominated our civilization. While tributary streams have come from all parts of Europe, the main stream of American civilization is English. We speak the English language, and our manners, customs, law, and government have been, for the most part, derived from England.

The discovery of America was an outgrowth of this revival in industry, commerce, and navigation.

Our language, law, and government are of English origin.

Perhaps enough has been said to show the connection between American history and the history of the rest of the world. We have traced the stream of the world's culture from its twin sources in Egypt and Chaldea; we have followed its course to

Palestine and Phœnicia and on to Greece and Rome; we have noted its branching out from Rome to the countries of modern Europe, and thence to the American continent. The main point to be remembered is that there were six thousand years of history before the American continent was discovered, and that American history is inseparably connected with that which had gone before. American history is the outgrowth of European history, and American civilization is, for the most part, the flower and fruit of the civilization of Europe. The American continent is geographically separated from the rest of the world, but historically it is not so. There is an unbreakable bond of union between the two which grows stronger with passing years. In the light of these facts we shall probably agree with Professor Freeman when he emphasizes "the unity of history" and insists that we must "look on the history of the world as one continuous whole."

CHAPTER II

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

16. Norsemen discover America about 1000 A.D. — The Norsemen from the Scandinavian peninsula were probably the first Europeans to set foot upon the American continent. In the latter part of the tenth century (985), these hardy sea rovers, under the leadership of Eric the Red, made settlements in Greenland, and about the year 1000, Leif Ericson, the son of Eric, is said to have come from Norway by way of Greenland and Iceland and to have landed upon the shore of North America somewhere to the south of Labrador. He and his companions, about thirty-five in number, named the place "Vinland" because of the abundance of wild grapes which they found. Here they spent the winter. Other settlers came, and a colony was founded, only to be abandoned later. No trace of this Vinland colony has ever been found in the United States, and its exact location still remains a mystery. It was probably somewhere within the present boundaries of Massachusetts or Rhode Island.

This discovery, however, although a picturesque historical event, is a matter of no practical importance. It apparently made little impression upon the minds of the people and was soon forgotten. The men of the later Middle Ages knew nothing of it. The real and practical discovery of America was made by Christopher Columbus about five hundred years later.

17. The Discovery of America by Columbus grew out of the Renaissance. — It was stated in the previous chapter that the discovery of America grew out of that remarkable revival in

learning, industry, and commerce which took place in Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It will be necessary for us at this time to note more definitely the way in which this came about. We have seen that the intellectual and material life of Europe was greatly quickened near the close of the Middle Ages. There was greater interest in learning; commerce and manufacturing developed; gunpowder was introduced; printing was invented; and there was a renewed interest in geography and travel. The spirit of enterprise was in the air. One result of all this was to stimulate trade with the East.

18. The East was looked upon as a Country of Great Riches. — For centuries the people of Europe had carried on an extensive and valuable trade with the East. India and China, or Cathay, as it was then called, were the sources from which the nations of Europe obtained gold, precious stones, silks, perfumes, spices, and other highly desirable commodities. The fact that little was known about the East made the locality still more attractive. There was fascination in its mystery. Travelers returning from India and China brought marvelous tales concerning the wealth and magnificence of those countries. Marco Polo, an Italian who had traveled extensively in the East, wrote of the country in glowing terms in 1299, and soon after there appeared the entertaining “Voyage and Travels of Sir John Mandeville,” made up from earlier narratives of travel. These books fired the imagination of the West. They told of “silver walls and golden towers,” of precious stones and fountains of youth, and of palaces paved with plates of gold “like slabs of stone, a good two fingers thick.” “For centuries,” says Justin Winsor, “the Orient had been the dream of the philosopher and the goal of the merchant. Everything in the East was thought to be on a larger scale than in Europe, — metals were more abundant, pearls were rarer, spices were richer, plants were nobler, animals were statelier.”

Access to this wonderful country was naturally a matter of great importance, and routes of trade between Europe and the East were studied with great care. In the Middle Ages there

were three important routes: one leading to Genoa by way of the Caspian and Black seas and Constantinople; another to Antioch by way of the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates valley; and the third to Venice by way of the Indian Ocean, Red Sea, and Mediterranean.



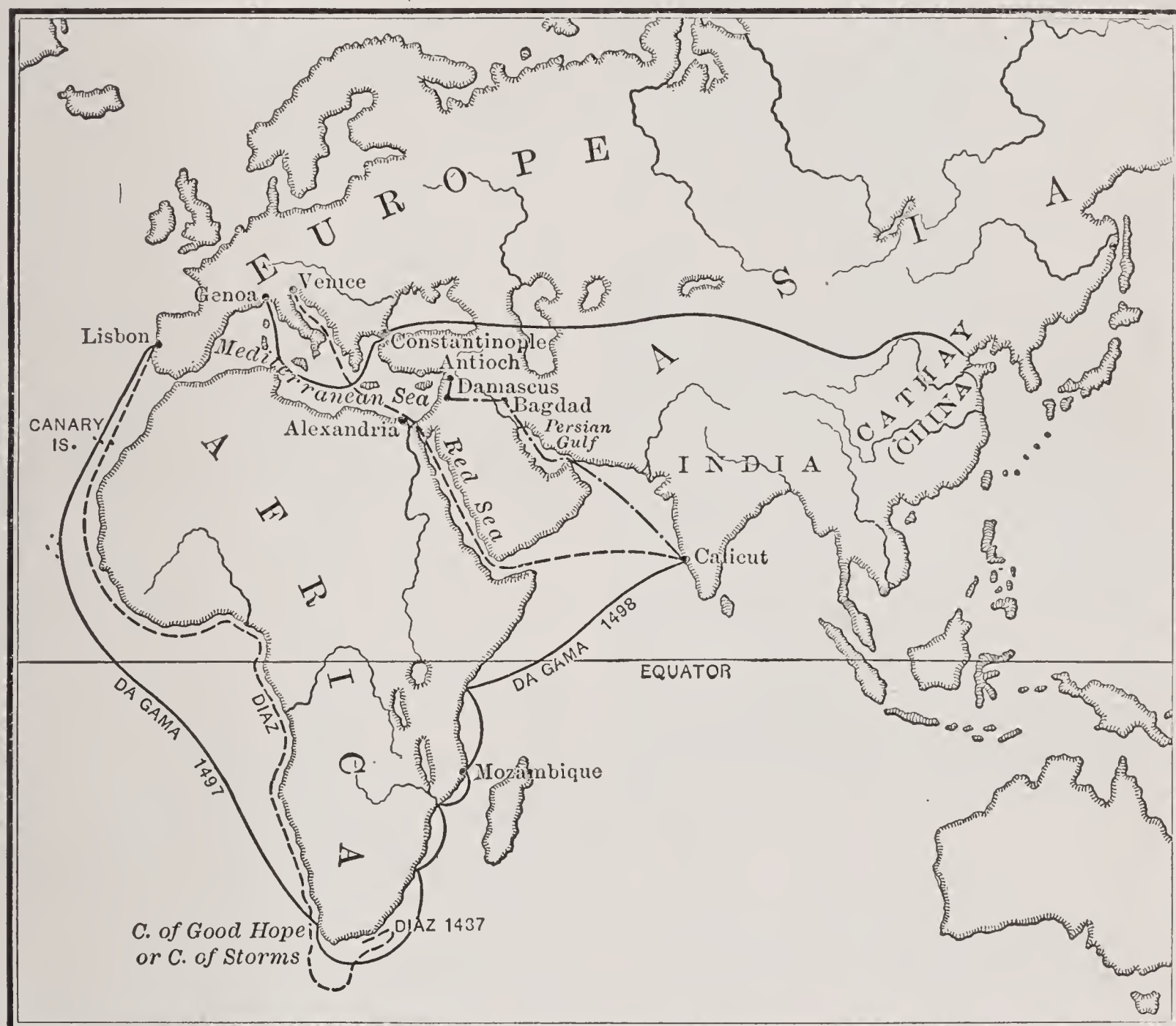
MAP OF THE KNOWN WORLD IN THE TIME OF COLUMBUS.

Travelers had been to India, China, and Japan. Portuguese navigators had crept down the western coast of Africa, and Bartholomew Diaz had reached the Cape of Storms (Cape of Good Hope). Vasco da Gama had not yet circumnavigated Africa and reached India. The American continent was enveloped in darkness.

These routes, dangerous and expensive at best, were being gradually cut off by the Turks as they extended their sway over Asia. Finally, in 1453, Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, and the route leading to Genoa, the birthplace of Columbus, was closed. It now seemed that the time was approaching when all overland communication between Europe and the East would be cut off. *The great commercial and geographical problem of the fifteenth century was,*

therefore, the finding of a new trade route to the East. Some improvements had recently been made in the art of navigation, and for this and other reasons an all-water route was especially desirable.

An all-water route was especially desirable.



TRADE ROUTES TO THE EAST.

For centuries Europeans had toiled up and down these routes, with boat and caravan. They carried woolen cloth, linen, black lead, wine, and glassware to the East, and received in exchange fragrant spices, black pepper, cotton cloth, silks, ivory, pearls, sapphires, diamonds, and other valuable articles.

Spain and Portugal, the leading maritime nations of Europe at the time, attempted to solve this great problem by different methods. Portuguese sailors tried to reach India by sailing around Africa and thence into the Indian Ocean; while the Spaniards, guided by Columbus and acting upon the theory that the earth was a globe, attempted to reach the same place by sailing

Spain and Portugal attempt to find new routes to India.

directly west. Both of these attempts should receive attention at this time.

19. Prince Henry, the Navigator. — The most notable efforts of the Portuguese were made under the wise and unselfish guidance of Prince Henry, the Navigator. A half a century before Columbus sailed on his first voyage of discovery, navigators sent by Prince Henry were cautiously creeping down the western coast of Africa in an attempt to round the continent and thus reach India. They finally succeeded after many years of patient endeavor. In 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon, and returned two years later laden with the jewels, silks, and fine fabrics of the East. The Portuguese had solved the problem, but not in the lifetime of their noble prince, and not until Columbus was about to sail for the third time in search of a western route to India.

The
Portuguese
find a new
route to
India.

THE VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS

The Portuguese attempted to solve the great problem of the fifteenth century and succeeded; Columbus attempted to do the same thing and failed, yet the failure of Columbus is vastly more important than the success of the Portuguese.

20. Christopher Columbus. — Columbus was born in Genoa, Italy, probably about the year 1446. Until a very recent time there was considerable doubt in regard to the exact location of the birthplace of the great navigator.

“Seven cities claimed the Homer dead,
In which the living Homer begged his bread.”

The case of Columbus was quite similar to that of the Greek poet, Homer. No less than twenty-five places — sixteen of them in Italy — claimed the honor of being Columbus's birthplace. That distinction has now, however, been quite definitely settled upon Genoa.

Columbus was fairly well educated for the time in which he lived, and was an expert penman and map maker. He was a

vigorous and daring youth, and to him adventure was the spice of life. He drifted to the sea and made several voyages while a mere boy. Lisbon was the center of nautical affairs at that time, and Columbus made his way to this city in 1470, or possibly a little later. In this favorable atmosphere he began to make his great plans.

Columbus was a close student of geography and navigation and came to the conclusion that India could be reached by sailing westward from Spain.

It would be a mis-

Columbus was not the first to believe that the earth is a sphere.

take to suppose, however, that the idea that the earth is a sphere was original with Columbus. That idea

was held in Greece two thousand years before Columbus was born. It was taught by Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, and also by a few of the noted scholars of the Middle Ages. At the time of Columbus most people still believed that the earth was flat, but many scientific men thought it a globe.

Neither was Columbus the first to come to the very natural conclusion that India could be reached by sailing west. About twelve years before Columbus made his famous voyage he received a letter from Toscanelli, a famous Italian astronomer, in which the latter stated definitely that in his opinion

India could be reached by sailing west from Europe. Toscanelli also sent Columbus a map which was used on the famous voyage of discovery. It was estimated

Toscanelli sends his map to Columbus.

by the Italian astronomer that the distance from Portugal to Asia



STATUE OF COLUMBUS ERECTED AT GENOA, ITALY.

Genoa was the probable birthplace of the great navigator.

was not more than three thousand miles. This error aided Columbus in fitting out his expedition. If the true distance had been known,—about twelve thousand miles,—it would have been exceedingly difficult for Columbus to induce sailors to undertake the voyage.

Columbus, then, was not the first to announce these great scientific theories relating to the size and shape of the earth, but he was the first man who had the courage to test these theories by pushing boldly out into the Atlantic Ocean, or “The Sea of Darkness,” as it was frequently called, which was supposed to be inhabited by gorgons, chimeras, and other terrible monsters. This was the great work of Columbus.

21. Columbus finds Great Difficulties in fitting out his Expedition.—Columbus had no little difficulty in securing money to fit out his expedition. He offered his services to several of the monarchs of Europe, only to be refused. “The King of Portugal,” he writes sadly, “refused with blindness to second me in my projects of maritime discovery.”

About 1484 Columbus went to Spain and laid his case before Ferdinand and Isabella, the King and Queen. He pleaded his own cause and did it with remarkable dignity and self-possession. He was neither “dazzled nor daunted” by the splendor of the royal court. He said later that “he felt himself kindled as with a fire from on high, and considered himself as an agent chosen by Heaven to accomplish a grand design.” His task was not an easy one. The Spaniards were fighting the Moors at the time, and the royal court, following the army, moved about from place to place. Columbus followed the court and pleaded his cause in the midst of the din of battle. He received but little encouragement, and in the fall of 1488 went to Portugal, but returned to Spain in the following spring. The learned men were consulted, and they pronounced his plan “vain and impossible.” He had now been pleading his cause for six years in Spain, and all in vain. Sick at heart, he determined to go to the King of France. He began his journey, penniless

He goes
to the King
and Queen
of Spain.

He is about
to leave
Spain in
despair.

and on foot, and begged his way to the seaport town of Palos, which he afterward made famous. Footsore and weary, he stopped at the convent of Rabida and asked for food and drink. Here he met the prior of the institution, who became interested in his plans and determined to assist him. The good prior pleaded with the King and Queen in behalf of Columbus, and the result was that the great navigator was recalled in haste to the royal court. Columbus retraced his steps and appeared before the monarchs at Granada at a very favorable moment. Granada, the Moorish capital, had fallen. The war was over, and the Spaniards had won.

He is recalled to the royal court.

The hated Moors had been defeated after a struggle of nearly eight centuries, and there was great rejoicing. So when Columbus appeared in the Spanish camp in December, 1491, he was received with more than ordinary favor. The Queen was particularly favorable, as her advisers had made eloquent appeals to her patriotism and religious fervor. A decision was easily reached, and the monarchs agreed to fit out the expedition.

An agreement is reached.

22. Columbus receives his Commission.—Ferdinand and Isabella gave Columbus a commission for the expedition on April 30, 1492, and preparations for the voyage were begun at once. Palos was all excitement. There was some difficulty in obtaining a crew to man the ships, as sailors were not eager to risk their lives in such a mysterious and perilous undertaking. Three vessels were finally fitted out,—the *Santa Maria*, in charge of Columbus himself, and the *Niña* and the *Pinta*, in charge of the Pinzon brothers, navigators of Palos. The boats carried ninety sailors and a total of one hundred and twenty men, including a physician and a surgeon. The largest boat was only sixty-five feet in length and twenty feet in width, as Columbus preferred small vessels for the coast service which they were expected to perform. The scenes in Palos during the days of preparation were impressive in the extreme. The people looked upon the proposed voyage in a very serious way. The hardened mariners

Three vessels are made ready.

made frequent visits to the mass and the confessional in order to be prepared for the worst. Finally everything was in readiness, and on Friday, August 3, 1492, an hour before sunrise, the ships set sail.

Columbus
sails, Aug.
3, 1492.



DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS FROM PALOS.

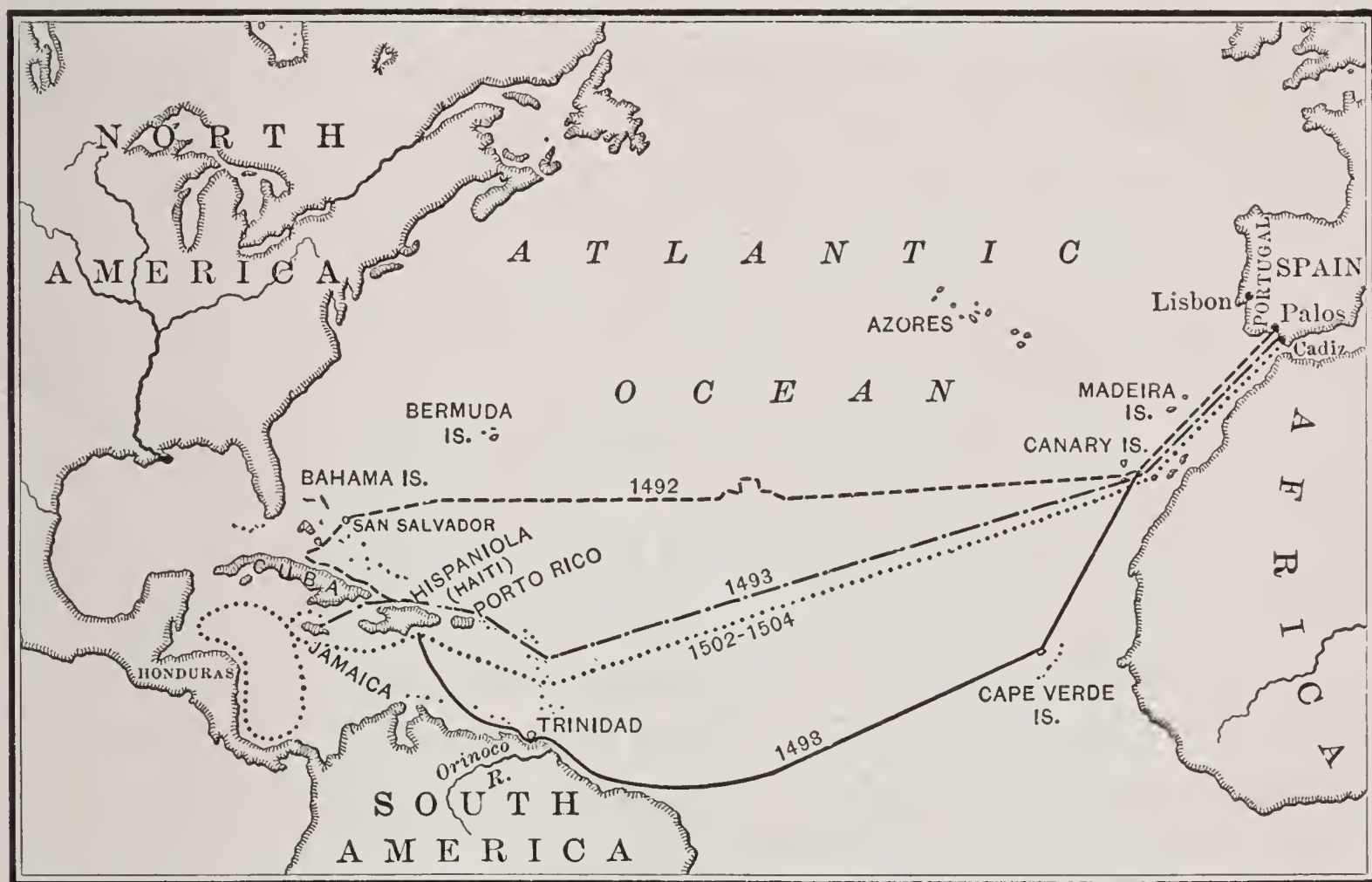
The departure of Columbus from Palos was an impressive scene. It was felt that the voyage upon "the Sea of Darkness" was both perilous and important. Priests had prepared the sailors to meet death.

23. The Voyage.—The little vessels reached the Canary Islands on the 12th of August and then sailed boldly toward the west. The crews contained many troublesome characters, and discontent and fear soon took possession of them. They wished to turn back, they became mutinous, and even threatened to throw Columbus overboard. In order to deceive the sailors in regard to the distance which the boats had gone, Columbus recorded the daily sailings as less than they really were. All eyes were looking anxiously for land, and some were confident, in several instances, that they saw it in the distance, only to find that clouds had been mistaken for mountains. Matters were fast becoming critical, and the strain upon the great mariner was severe. He was looking and praying for land, knowing

well that his life depended upon the finding of it. Finally, at ten o'clock on the night of October 11, Columbus thought that he saw a light moving to and fro in the distance, and four hours later—at two o'clock on the morning of October 12, 1492—land was distinctly seen in the moonlight. They were near a new continent, but Columbus was not aware of it. He went ashore on one of the smaller islands of the Bahama group, and took possession of the land in the name of the King and Queen of Spain. He named the island San Salvador, or Holy Saviour, and called its inhabitants Indians, for he supposed that he had reached the Indies.

Land is discovered,
Oct. 12, 1492.

Columbus thinks he has reached India.



THE VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS, 1492-1502.

By these voyages Columbus found a new continent without knowing it. "Nothing like it was ever done before, and nothing like it can ever be done again. No worlds are left for a future Columbus to conquer."

About three months were spent by Columbus and his men in going about from island to island. On the 21st of October they came to Cuba and naturally thought it a continent. They then went to what is now San Domingo, or Hayti, and Columbus was so impressed with the beauty of the island and with its

reputation among the natives for "large mines of fine gold" that he determined to make a settlement there. The material for the fort and storehouse was furnished in a most unexpected way. On Christmas Day the waves had dashed the *Santa Maria* to pieces upon the shore, and her timbers were used in making the rude building. About forty men were left in the new colony, but Columbus found none of them alive when he returned to the spot on his second voyage.

24. Columbus sets out for Spain, January 4, 1493. — On the 4th of January, 1493, the *Niña* and the *Pinta* set out for Spain. A few savages were taken on board as curiosities and as evidences of the success of the expedition. The rations soon ran short, and a shark and a tunny fish were welcome additions to the store of food. The ships encountered violent storms, and after many mishaps the *Niña* was compelled to land in Portugal on the 4th of March. Here the adventurers were looked upon with hostile and suspicious eyes. Columbus sent a messenger to Spain to announce his success, and after remaining nine days in Portugal, he and his followers again put out to sea, and reached Palos two days later. By a peculiar coincidence the *Pinta* sailed into Palos on the evening of the same day. The two ships had been separated in a storm near the Azores, and each thought that the other was lost. The reunion of the crews was a happy one, and March 15 thus became a notable date in the history of Palos. There was great rejoicing on every hand, and Columbus was held in high honor.

25. Columbus makes Three Other Voyages. — Columbus had not yet reached the India of silks, spices, and precious metals, although he was confident that he had touched a remote part of that country. He was not content, therefore, to drop the work, and during the next few years he made three other western voyages. On the third trip, in 1498, he touched the coast of South America at the mouth of the Orinoco River. Soon after his fourth voyage he died in Spain, in poverty and wretchedness, in the year 1506.

He was without honor. Instead of the gold, jewels, and fine fabrics of the East, he had brought to Spain simply a few dusky savages. The world-wide importance of his great discovery had not yet begun to dawn upon the minds of men.

Columbus
died without
honor in
1506.

26. The Pope divides the Heathen World between the Spaniards and Portuguese, May 4, 1493. — In order to prevent conflict the Pope divided the heathen world between the Spaniards and the Portuguese by his famous line of May 4, 1493. He decreed that the Spaniards should have all the lands which they might discover on the west of a meridian drawn one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and that the Portuguese should have similar privileges on the east side of the line. In the following year by a mutual agreement between Spain and Portugal the line of division was placed three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Islands. It was still supposed to be in mid-ocean, but as a matter of fact the change gave the eastern part of South America, what is now Brazil, to Portugal.

OTHER EXPEDITIONS TO THE NEW WORLD

27. John Cabot explores the Atlantic Coast of North America, 1497-1498. — England usually has a part in the opening up of new territory; and so it was in this instance. She was naturally enterprising and had been stirred to activity by the efforts of her rivals, Spain and Portugal. Consequently, in 1497, when it was believed that Columbus had found a new route to India, but before the Portuguese had succeeded in their efforts, John Cabot, an Italian, sailed from Bristol under the English flag in an attempt to find a northwest passage to the great East. On the 24th of June he saw land, probably in the vicinity of Labrador or Cape Breton Island. He was thus the first European since the Northmen to set eyes upon the continent of North America. He was greatly honored upon his return to England and was given £10 (equal in value then to about \$500) by the gracious King for finding the "new isle."

In April of the following year, John Cabot crossed the Atlantic at the head of another expedition and explored the eastern coast of North America, possibly from Greenland as far south as Chesapeake Bay. "Lost in the gloom of the Western Ocean," John Cabot never returned. England later laid claim to the entire continent of North America on the basis of his discoveries.

28. Americus Vesputius explores the Coast of South America, 1501. — It is an interesting fact that the leading discoverers of



AMERICUS VESPUTIUS.

This noted Italian navigator was born in Florence in 1451. America was named after him. Some have said that he procured this honor by fraud, but this is not true. It was thought at the time that Columbus had reached Asia and that Vesputius had discovered a continent lying to the south of Asia. It was accident and ignorance, not fraud, that deprived Columbus of the distinction of having the American continent named in his honor. Vesputius died, 1512.

this period were Italians, yet Italy did not obtain a single foot of territory upon the American continent. The reason for this is that the great Italian navigators sailed under the flags of other countries.

Americus Vesputius, another Italian, who later became prominent in the service of Spain, accompanied a Portuguese expedition in 1501, which explored the coast of South America from Cape San Roque to the La Plata River, and then turned its course to the southeast and reached the island of South Georgia, about twelve hundred miles east of Cape Horn. Here the ice and extreme cold of the Antarctic regions were encountered, and the expedition was compelled to turn back, but not before it had gone farther south than any of its predecessors.

Vesputius wrote an account of his voyages which made a great sensation in Europe. Men were impressed with the

immense extent of seacoast which was now known to exist, and gradually came to the conclusion that the new land was a *continent* and not an island. In 1507 a German professor, Martin Waldseemüller, published a geography and suggested that the new or "fourth" part of the earth be called "America" in honor of its discoverer, Americus Vesputius. The name was first applied to what is now Argentina, then to what is now South America, and finally to the entire continent. The voyages of Vesputius had a marked effect in expanding geographical ideas.

Vesputius writes an account of his voyages.

"America" named in 1507.

29. Magellan sails around the World, 1519-1522. — By 1519 it was only too clear that the Spaniards had not reached the East Indies and that the Portuguese had found the islands where the spices grew. They were, however, so far to the east of India that Magellan, a Portuguese navigator, was able to persuade the King of Spain to equip an expedition in the hope of finding them by sailing west, and of proving that they lay in the Spanish half of the world. Magellan, in command of five Spanish ships, sailed away to the southwest, hoping to find a strait through the continent by which he could proceed to the Spice Islands. This voyage is the most remarkable one ever put on record. Five ships left Spain and only one returned, the others having been either abandoned or lost. The course of the expedition was to the southwest, through the straits to which Magellan gave his name, across the ocean which he named the "Pacific," on



FERDINAND MAGELLAN.

The "Prince of Navigators," a Portuguese nobleman, was born about 1470 or 1480. He served in the Portuguese navy, then entered the service of Spain. He was killed by the natives in the Philippines in 1521 while in command of the first expedition that sailed around the world.

to the East Indies, and back again to Spain by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The hardships of the voyage cannot be described. Magellan contended against hunger, cold, heat, wind, wave, disease, and mutiny, and was finally killed by savages



MAGELLAN'S EXPEDITION, 1519-1522.

It left Spain Sept. 20, 1519; entered the present Straits of Magellan Oct. 21, 1520; reached the Philippines March, 1521; and one ship only succeeded in returning to Spain (Sept. 6, 1522).

in the Philippines. One of his ships, and only one, the *Victoria*, found her way back to Spain, after an absence of three years. The importance of this voyage cannot be overestimated. The so-called "American obstruction" had been passed and the earth had been completely circumnavigated for the first time.

The theory of the sphericity of the earth had been demonstrated in a practical way. There was no longer any excuse for holding to the belief that the earth was flat.

Magellan
proved the
earth to be
a sphere.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE INTERIOR

30. The Exploration of the Interior began in 1513. — No attempt was made to push into the interior of the continent until 1513. Now, however, the Europeans were eager to reap the rewards of their labors. In this exploration the Spaniards, eager for wealth and power and spurred on by love of adventure and religious zeal, led the way.

31. Balboa discovers the "Pacific." — Balboa, a Spanish adventurer, was the first to leave the coast. In 1513 he crossed the Isthmus of Panama, discovered the great ocean which he called the "South Sea," since named the "Pacific," and took possession of it in the name of the King of Spain.

32. Ponce de Leon explores and names Florida, 1513. — In the same year (1513) Ponce de Leon, a Spanish soldier and governor of Porto Rico, came to what is now Florida in search of the mythical "fountain of youth." He found no such fountain, of course, but he gave the country its present name because he first saw it on Easter Sunday, which in the Spanish is called *Pascua* (pas'-coo-ah) *Florida*, meaning "the flowery passover."

33. Cortez and Pizarro. — A little later (1519-1521) Cortez made his famous conquest of Mexico and became a national hero. In 1532 Pizarro, another Spanish soldier, made a similar conquest of Peru. William H. Prescott, the American historian, has written of these two conquests in a very interesting and instructive way.

34. Narvaez explores the Southwest, 1528-1536. — In 1528 Narvaez, also a Spaniard, landed at Tampa Bay, Florida, with three hundred men bent upon exploring the interior. They met with indescribable hardships, and the company was finally reduced to four men. For eight years these luckless survivors floundered about in the forests, swamps, and deserts of the present Texas and northern Mexico, and finally reached the Gulf of California in 1536.

35. De Soto discovers the Mississippi River, 1541. — Another hardy Spanish explorer was Hernando de Soto. He and his followers landed in Florida in 1539, and after wandering about in the swamps and jungles of the Gulf region for two years discovered the Mississippi River in April of 1541. On May 21 of the following year De Soto died of swamp fever, and was buried in the bed of the river which he had discovered. His company, much reduced in numbers, soon after abandoned the expedition, and made its way down the Mississippi and along the Gulf coast to Mexico.

36. Coronado seeks the "Seven Cities of Cibola." — An equally remarkable expedition was undertaken in 1540 by another little band of Spaniards under the lead of Coronado. It was reported that the four survivors of the ill-fated Narvaez company claimed that they had seen the famous "Seven Cities of Cibola." The inhabitants of these cities were said to be fabulously wealthy, and to live in magnificent stone houses and to use household utensils made of solid gold and silver. These reports beguiled Coronado and his followers into the interior. They found the "Seven Cities," but they also found that the people instead of dwelling in marble palaces lived in large communal houses which were long, rude structures, large enough, in some instances, to hold fifty families. The Spaniards failed to find the gold and silver which they sought so eagerly. These would-be conquerors "beat for three years, up and down the southwestern wilderness," a part of them reached the interior of what is now Kansas, and some of them gazed upon the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. They finally realized that they were the victims of idle tales, and abandoned the project in 1542.

Coronado's
disappoint-
ment.

37. St. Augustine, the First Permanent Colony in the United States, founded, 1565. — Up to this time the Spaniards had not succeeded in planting a colony on the Atlantic coast of North America. However, in 1565 they founded the first permanent colony in what is now the United States at St. Augustine, Florida.¹

FACTS AND DATES

- 1000 (about). America discovered by the Norsemen.
- 1497. Vasco da Gama reaches India.
- 1492. Columbus discovers America.
- 1497. John Cabot reaches North America.
- 1519-1522. Voyage of Magellan.
- 1513. Balboa discovered the "South Sea" (Pacific Ocean).
- 1541. De Soto discovered the Mississippi River.
- 1565. St. Augustine founded.

¹ Vera Cruz had been founded in 1519, and Panama earlier still.

CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL FEATURES

38. Physical Features have a Marked Influence upon the History of a Country. — From your study of geography you have learned that the physical features of a country have a very marked influence upon its history. The political, religious, and social life of the people is directly influenced by the soil, climate, and elevation of the country. The height of the mountains, the speed and depth of the rivers, and the nature of the seacoast have their influence upon the history of a nation. If an intelligent traveler had carefully studied the physical features of the United States, even before a single settlement had been made, he would have been able to foretell, to some extent, what the future history of the country would be.

39. The Atlantic Coast is more Accessible than the Pacific. — By referring to the map, it will be seen that the highland of the United States is, for the most part, west of the Mississippi River. The Pacific coast is high and steep, has but few good harbors, San Diego, San Francisco, and Puget Sound, and it is thus very difficult to make a landing upon it. The eastern coast is more inviting. The Atlantic seaboard extends inland for about one hundred miles, and slopes gently up to the mountains. There are many excellent harbors scattered along the coast from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Galveston. The Pacific slope has few navigable rivers, while the Atlantic has many such.

40. Exploration and Colonization were Easier from the East to the West. — It will be evident from what has been said and from a study of the map that the exploration and colonization of North America were very much easier from the east to the



PHYSICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.

west than they would have been in the opposite direction. Explorers from Europe easily gained a foothold upon the Atlantic coast. They then found it possible to reach the interior of the continent by going up the St. Lawrence, the Potomac, the Hudson, or the James. These rivers led by easy portages to other waterways, and thus made it possible for explorers to reach all parts of the continent. The explorer might, for example, ascend the St. Lawrence River, pass on to the Great Lakes, and by carrying his canoe a short distance at any one of several places, reach the upper course of the Mississippi. By going down the Mississippi to the present site of St. Louis he could reach the mouth of the Missouri River, and by going up this river to its headwaters, and by carrying his canoe again for a short distance, he could reach the tributaries of the Columbia. By paddling down this river he could reach the Pacific, having crossed the continent almost entirely by water. By making use of the map you will be able to trace other routes which the early explorers might, and actually did, take into the interior, or even across the continent.

Taking it all together, it seems now a very fortunate circumstance that it was the eastern and not the western shore of the American continent that was first discovered by the Europeans.

41. The Hudson River and Chesapeake Bay divide the Atlantic Seaboard into Three Parts. — Although the eastern coast of the North American continent, taken as a whole, differs from the western, the physical features of the Atlantic border are by no means uniform. The north Atlantic coast differs very much from the south in this respect. It also happens that the Atlantic seaboard is divided into three great parts by the Hudson River and the Chesapeake Bay and that these divisions were the seats of three distinct groups of colonies, — the New England colonies, the Middle colonies, and the Southern colonies. Since these groups differ in many ways, it will be convenient to tell the story of the colonization of these three great divisions separately.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLONIZATION OF THE SOUTH

1607-1700

42. Definition of a Colony. — A colony is composed of a number of people who go from their native land to make homes in a new country. They and their descendants may or may not remain under the control of the mother country.

When a nation obtains territory by discovery or exploration, it usually wishes to get a firmer hold upon it by the establishment of colonies. It was so with the European nations in the sixteenth century. They were busy with plans of colonization for the New World.

43. There are Six Motives for Colonization. — There are six principal motives which have led to the founding of colonies: (1) the desire for empire; (2) the love of adventure and enterprise; (3) the desire for gain; (4) overpopulation; (5) an oppressive government; and (6) a desire for religious freedom. It will be interesting to note as we progress the extent to which these motives entered into the founding of the American colonies. In most instances two or more of them were combined.

44. The Colony is sometimes Dependent upon the Mother Country. — The relation between the colony and the mother country has not been the same in every instance. The old Greek idea was that the colony was a new state descended from the mother country. It was in no sense a dependency. It was bound to the mother country by certain natural ties of blood relationship and religion, but was independent in matters of government.

The English idea of a colony in the seventeenth century was very different from the Greek idea. The English colony was governed by the mother country and was dependent upon her.

The colony was looked upon also as a source of revenue. It was compelled to pay taxes to the mother state and was expected to furnish her a valuable trade. This narrow view of the relation of the colony to the home government led to the separation of the American colonies at the time of the Revolution.

The English idea of a colony.

England is now the most successful colonizing nation on the globe, but her policy is more liberal than it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In speaking of the loss of the American colonies a recent English writer says: "England learnt thereby the true mode of dealing with colonies. Her liberal colonial policy in the present century, which stands out in brilliant contrast to the systems of other times and other nations, is the direct fruit of her greatest mistake and her most striking failure."

England's dealings with her colonies are more liberal now than formerly.

45. The Sea Rovers.—The first permanent English settlement in America was made at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. This was one hundred and ten years after John Cabot had made his famous voyage. Although England is generally very vigorous in the matter of colonization, she was slow to follow up the advantage gained by the voyage of John Cabot. There was a good reason for this. The Pope's decree of 1493 had given North America to Spain, and as long as England was subject to the Pope and friendly to Spain, she did not wish to disregard this decree. Consequently the colonization of North America was not taken up in earnest by England until the time of Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603).

England was late in beginning the colonization of America.

The reign of Elizabeth was a brilliant period in English history. It was a time of great material prosperity and intellectual vigor. Trade and industry flourished, and some of the greatest masterpieces in English literature were written. The people were active and enterprising as they had never been before, and the achievements of their daring seamen were brilliant in the extreme. Sir

The reign of Queen Elizabeth was a brilliant period.

Francis Drake made the second circumnavigation of the globe in 1577-1580, and Frobisher and Davis carried the English flag to the extreme northwest. These daring sea rovers, however, were intent upon exploration, gold hunting, and the plundering of Spanish ships, and apparently had no thought of colonization.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

The famous soldier, sea rover, and colonizer was born in England in 1552. He was well educated, and for years a favorite at the court of Queen Elizabeth. In 1603 he was convicted of treason and imprisoned in the Tower for thirteen years. He was then released, but in 1618 was beheaded on the old charge of fifteen years before. He was one of the first to introduce tobacco into England.

was lost on the voyage, and Gilbert went down with her. The companion ship, bearing the worthless rock, came to port in safety.

Raleigh persevered and spent a fortune of forty thousand pounds in the attempt to found a colony in America. He determined to abandon Newfoundland and to go to the milder climate

Virginia is
named,
1584.

of the South, and in 1584 he sent two vessels under the command of Amadas and Barlowe to the south Atlantic coast. These men explored the shore for a considerable distance, and the country was named "Virginia"

46. Gilbert and Raleigh attempt to found Colonies, but Fail. — Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a member of Parliament, was the first Englishman to attempt to found a colony in the New World. He was a good man and deserved better success, and a less tragic fate. In 1579 he and his stepbrother, Walter Raleigh, went to Newfoundland, being attracted, no doubt, by the fisheries, and attempted to establish a colony there. They failed. Four years later (1583) Gilbert went to the same place and found that four hundred vessels, most of them owned by the Spaniards and Portuguese, were engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries. He loaded one of his ships with rock supposed to contain silver ore and set out for home. His ship, the *Golden Hind*,

in honor of Elizabeth, the maiden queen. They made no settlement, but came into contact with the Indians and reported them to be "people most gentle, loving, and faithful." Later colonists had a different story to tell.

In the following year (1585) Raleigh sent out another fleet of eight vessels, carrying one hundred and eight colonists, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. Grenville scoured the seas and plundered the ships of the Spaniards for some time and finally landed his company on Roanoke Island. They were not good material for a colony. They enjoyed the chase and capture of a rich Spanish ship, and the search for gold mines, but agriculture was not to their liking. They were also depressed by homesickness, and in 1586 Sir Francis Drake touched at Roanoke and carried the entire company back to England. A few days after their departure a supply ship sent by Raleigh found the place deserted. About two weeks later Grenville returned to the spot and left fifteen men to the lonesome task of retaining possession of the site. So this expedition ended in practical failure.

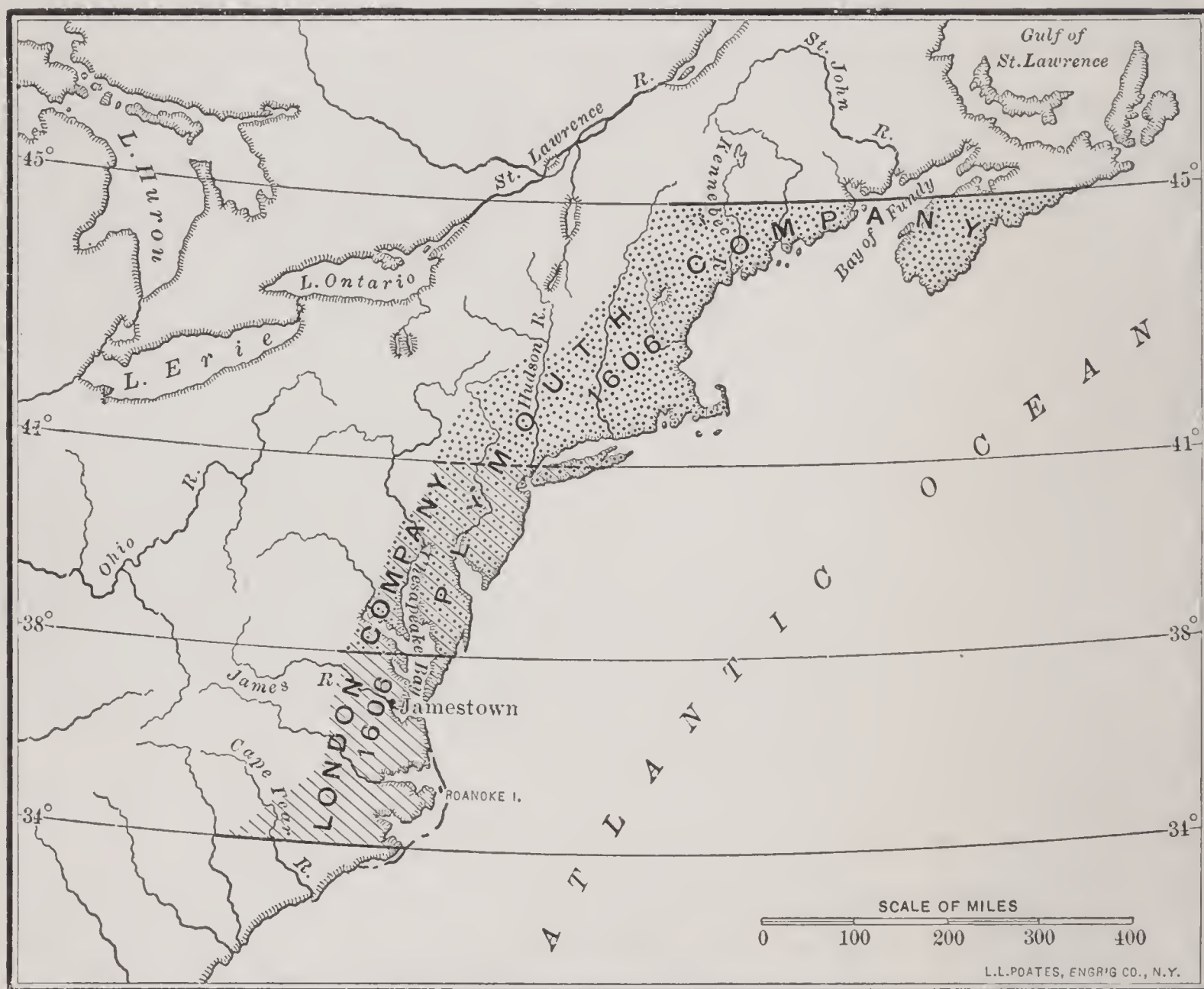
Raleigh's
colony at
Roanoke a
failure.

Raleigh was not discouraged, but in 1587 sent out another expedition, this time at his own expense, as the queen had had enough of the business. They came to the Carolina coast, but could find no trace of the fifteen men. "At Roanoke, deer were quietly grazing in a field fertilized by the bones of Grenville's contingent of the year before, and the fort was in ruins." John White was in command of the expedition, and on August 18, his daughter, Eleanor Dare, gave birth to a child which was named Virginia in honor of the new country. This child was the first one born of English parents on American soil. Leaving a colony of eighty-nine men, women, and children, White returned to England in the same year (1587).

He founds
another
colony on
the
Carolina
coast.

47. The Defeat of the Armada humbled Spain and made England more Powerful. — Stirring times were coming on in Europe. Catholic Spain had been the leading nation of the world, and now Protestant England was about to challenge her supremacy.

The other nations, keenly sympathetic with the one side or the other, looked on with interest. They had not long to wait. In 1588 the Spanish fleet, the so-called "Invincible Armada," set out to destroy the English navy. The result is well known.



GRANTS OF LAND TO THE LONDON AND PLYMOUTH COMPANIES, 1606.

The grants were as follows:—London Company (or Branch), 34° – 41° ; Plymouth Company (or Branch), 38° – 45° ; common to both, 38° – 41° . According to the charter of 1606 the grant of land extended inland a distance of one hundred miles and also included all islands within one hundred miles of the coast. In 1609 the London Company was separated from the Plymouth and its domain was said to extend "from sea to sea, west and northwest," and to include the coast islands as before. Under this charter of 1609 Virginia later claimed land northwest of the Ohio River.

The Armada was defeated and almost totally destroyed by the English fleet aided by severe storms. When Grenville returned from America in 1587, the clash was about to come. There could be no thought of colonization in such a time, and the unfortunate people of Roanoke were left to shift for themselves for three years. White returned to the place in 1590, only to

find that the colonists, including his daughter and granddaughter, Virginia Dare, had disappeared. They had probably been massacred or had gone to live with the Indians, and are spoken of to this day as Raleigh's "lost colony."

48. Trading Companies, when Individuals failed, were organized to found Colonies. — It soon became evident that colonization in America was too large an enterprise for individuals to undertake. The personal efforts of Gilbert and Raleigh had failed, and the next step was to organize companies for the purpose of founding colonies. On April 10, 1606, King James I granted a charter to a company consisting of two branches or parts. One of these branches had its headquarters at London and was known as the London Company.

The London Company,
34° to 41°.

To this company the king gave the right to occupy a tract of land one hundred miles square, situated anywhere between 34° and 41° north latitude.

The other company, with headquarters at Plymouth, and hence called the Plymouth Company, obtained a similar grant between 38° and 45° north latitude. The domain of the London Company thus extended from Long Island on the north to the mouth of the Cape Fear River on the south, while that of the Plymouth extended from the northern boundary of New York to the mouth of the Potomac River. It will be noticed that there was an overlapping of three degrees, but to avoid conflict it was provided that neither company should establish a settlement between 38° and 41° nearer than one hundred miles to one already established within this zone.

The Plymouth Company,
38° to 45°.

49. The King governed the Colonies. — The government of the colonies was placed in the hands of the king. Each colony was to have a governing council of thirteen men, residing in America, and appointed by the king from among the colonists. Over each of these local councils there was to be another council residing in England, composed of fourteen men, and also appointed by the king.

The councils in America were subject to any rules which the

king might see fit to make. In accordance with this clause the king sent some very definite instructions with the body of colonists sent out by the London Company. These instructions provided that the supremacy of the king and that of the Church of England should be maintained. They also provided for trial by jury and set forth the way in which land should be held. The penalties for certain offenses were also fixed. It was agreed that the proceeds of the enterprise were to go to the Company for twenty-one years and then to the king. It will be noticed that the power of the king, under the charter, was absolute. The Company was very anxious to obtain favorable trading privileges, but cared little for the political freedom of the colonists. Money was apparently more important than self-government. And yet, we shall see, as we proceed, that the king was too weak to profit much by the vast power given to him by the charter, and that the colonists really did obtain a large measure of self-government. It should also be said that the colonists were guaranteed the rights of Englishmen before the courts.

VIRGINIA, 1607

50. Jamestown, the First English Colony in America, founded, 1607. — The London Company was the first to move under the new charter. On December 19, 1606, one hundred and forty-three colonists embarked for the New World under the command of Christopher Newport. Among the noted men of the company were Gosnold, the navigator, Wingfield, a merchant, and John Smith, a brave but boastful soldier whose ability was destined to save the colony from destruction. Land was sighted on the 16th of April, 1607, and soon after, the company sailed up the river which they named the James in honor of the king. On the 13th of May they landed on the north bank of the river, about forty or fifty miles above its mouth, and there selected the site for their colony, which they named Jamestown. Captain Newport and a small party went on an exploring expedition to

the present site of Richmond, and on June 22 their leader went back to England.

Wingfield was chosen president, but after the departure of Newport he found it impossible to control the colony and was removed from office. Things

were in a bad way.

The colonists were quarrelsome and not

industrious.

“Gentlemen” were

About one half of them

were “gentlemen,” so-called, and

not accustomed to

work with their hands.

They had come to

America to find gold

mines and get rich

rapidly, but not to till

the soil. They were

generally inclined to

lawlessness. A play

written in 1605 sets

forth the views of

American colonists in

a somewhat exaggerated

way. One of the

characters, in speak-

ing of the New World,

says: “Gold is more

plentiful there than

copper is with us. . . .

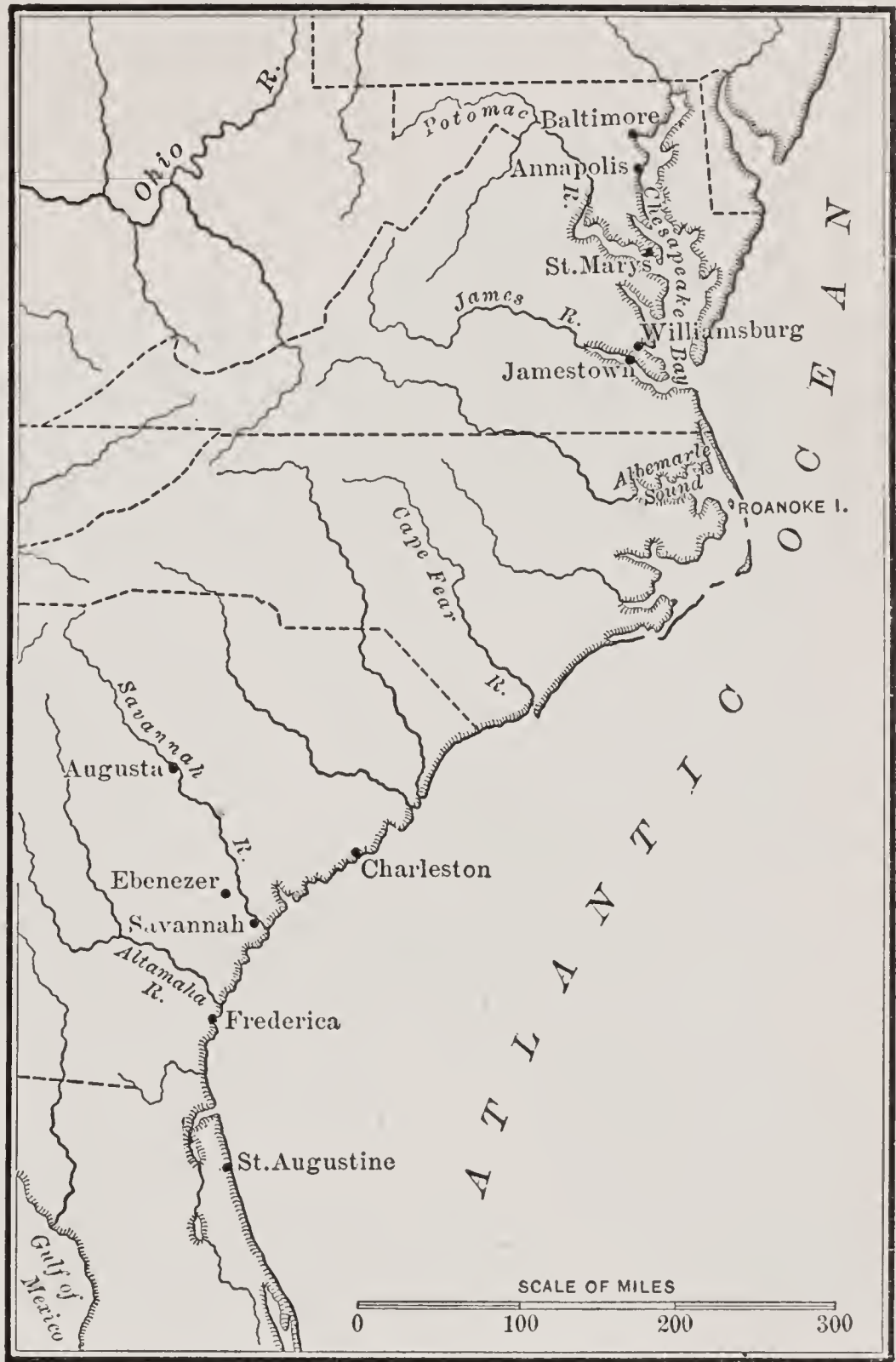
Why, man, all their dripping-pans are

pure gold, and all chains with which they chain up their streets

are massive gold; all the prisoners they take are fettered in

gold; and for rubies and diamonds, they go forth on holy days

and gather them by the seashore, to hang on their children’s



THE SOUTHERN COLONIES.

The English controlled the entire coast represented in the above map from Maryland to Georgia. St. Augustine (1565) was Spanish.

coats and stick in their children's caps." It was apparently the idea of the colonist that all he had to do in America was to eat, drink, and be merry. He soon found, however, that such was not the case. Within two weeks from the time of the landing the Indians made an attack upon the settlement. Disease lurked in the swamps, the water was bad, and the heat was intense. One half of the colonists died during the first summer, and the outlook for Jamestown was a gloomy one.

The
colonists
wished to
find gold,
but not to
till the soil.



THE SITE OF JAMESTOWN AS IT APPEARED IN 1859.

Jamestown was built upon low land. It was unhealthful and difficult to defend against the Indians. A great many of the people died and the colony was partly supported from England for several years. During Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 the town was burned and never rebuilt. In the picture are seen the ruins of the brick church tower, all that remains.

51. John Smith was the Savior of the Colony. — At this time John Smith appeared as the savior of the colony. Smith was vain, boastful, and deceitful, but he was at the same time a man of courage, energy, and ability. When he became president he

put the idlers at work and declared that "he that will not work shall not eat." He drilled the men, repaired the fortifications, and explored the surrounding country. For two years Smith was the mainspring of the Jamestown colony, and undoubtedly saved it from failure. He was shrewd enough to see the real difficulty, and he pleaded with the Company in London to send carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and gardeners instead of the "gentlemen, goldsmiths, and libertines," already there. The Company, however, complained of the small profits of the enterprise and was slow to see that "the air of Virginia could work no charm to turn idle spendthrifts into hard-working settlers."

52. New Charter is granted, 1609. — On May 23, 1609, a new charter was given to the colony. The boundaries of the grant of land were more definitely set forth, and it was stated that the domain extended from "sea to sea, west and northwest." The government was also somewhat simplified. The power was now placed in the hands of a single council, appointed originally by the king, but with vacancies filled by the Company.

In England an effort was made to arouse an interest in the Jamestown colony. Sermons were preached in its behalf, and pamphlets were printed for the same purpose. More immigrants came; "unruly gallants," said Smith, but he put them to work. The severest blow which the colony suffered in its early days was the departure of John Smith for England in October, 1609. The strong arm



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

"The Savior of the Jamestown Colony" was born in England in 1579. He was a soldier and led a life of thrilling adventure. He was a natural leader. He wrote several books, one of which was "The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America." He died in London in 1631.

Jamestown
in
wretched-
ness.

was taken away and was not returned. After Smith's departure the colony sank into a wretched condition. It suffered from disease, Indian attacks, and, worst of all, from laziness. The colonists were so shiftless that they chopped up their houses for fuel although they were living in a dense wilderness. Affairs were in a desperate condition and the colony was about to be abandoned in 1610, the year after Smith's departure.

53. Lord Delaware a Good Governor. — Lord Delaware, the new governor, arrived just in time to prevent the step. Delaware was an able and energetic man and soon infused new life into the colony. He found Jamestown "a forlorn ruin full of dead men's bones," but soon caused things to take on a new form. The little church, which had been abandoned, was enlarged and repaired and the worship of God was resumed. Fresh misfortunes, however, were in store for the distressed colonists. The well from which they drew their water supply was shallow and probably foul, and a large amount of sickness was the result. Delaware became unpopular and left Jamestown in the March after his arrival.

54. Governor Dale restored Law and Order. — Delaware was succeeded in 1611 by Sir Thomas Dale, a man of vigor and even of harshness. Dale brought with him a code of martial law and soon reduced the colony to order. His vigor was necessary, as the "starving time" was not yet over. New immigrants of a more useful class, including servants and workingmen, arrived, and the condition of affairs improved under Dale's government.

55. The Virginia House of Burgesses was the First Representative Legislature ever convened in America, July 30, 1619. — The little colony had a long list of governors, — some good and some bad, — but continued on the whole to advance and to increase in strength. Governor Yeardley arrived in the spring of 1619, and under his direction some very important changes were made. On July 30, 1619, the first House of Burgesses was assembled. This assembly is notable as being *the first representative legislature ever convened in America*. It was made up of twenty-two

“burgesses,” or representatives, there being two from each of the eleven “towns, plantations, and hundreds.”

56. Slavery introduced, 1619. — In the same year slavery was introduced into America. A Dutch vessel sailed up the James River in the summer of 1619 and sold twenty negro slaves to the colonists. The seeds of the great Civil War of 1861–1865 were thus sown at this time.

The colony continued to flourish, and in 1620 it contained about three thousand people. Tobacco was the staple crop and for a time was used as money. The Church of England was the principal church. Women came, and family life was established.

57. The Indians, at first Friendly, became Hostile. — The colony suffered somewhat from Indian attacks. The Indians of North America were much more savage than those which the Spaniards had met in the South. They were, however, at first very friendly to Smith and his followers. Powhatan was the famous chief of the red men in the vicinity of Jamestown, and his daughter Pocahontas married John Rolfe, a young Englishman. But in 1618 Powhatan died, and his brother, who succeeded him, was not so cordial. The relations between the Indians and the white men became unfriendly, and in 1622 a fight between a colonist and a red man brought on an Indian attack. About three hundred and seventy colonists were slain, and the very life of Jamestown was in danger. Such an attack would probably have been fatal during the “starving time” which followed the departure of John Smith.

58. The Charter withdrawn, 1624. — In the following year the king, who was not friendly to the Company, demanded the surrender of the charter, and on June 16, 1624, the court declared the charter null and void. The colony now passed under the absolute and immediate control of the king, and the Company was deprived of its rights. The act of the king was tyrannical and harsh, but it worked for the good of the people in the end. The colony was not interfered with, and great advancements were made in self-government.

59. Governor Berkeley was an Able but Narrow Man. — Of the later governors Sir William Berkeley was one of the most notable. He was a man of ability, yet narrow-minded. In 1671 he wrote a description of the colony as it was in 1670. He placed the population at forty thousand, and urged the ministers to “pray oftener and preach less.” He showed his hostility to education by writing, “I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years.”

60. A Period of Gloom followed by Prosperity. — The latter part of the seventeenth century was a gloomy period in the colony notwithstanding the fact that the people were, for the most part, under able governors. During the administration of Governor Francis Nicholson riots and other disorders prevailed, and hangings were numerous. Nicholson said of the people that he would “beat them into better manners” or “bring them to reason with halters about their necks.”

Yet the colony grew, and in 1700 the population had reached nearly one hundred thousand. Education, too, was not entirely neglected, as William and Mary College was founded at Williamsburg in 1693. This was the second college founded in America, Harvard being the first, in 1636. The success of the colony was now well assured, as the people had settled down to agriculture and the fever for gold hunting had largely passed away. Popular government, too, was growing stronger.

William
and Mary
College
founded,
1693.

MARYLAND, 1634

61. Lord Baltimore proposes to found a Colony on a Religious Basis. — While these events were occurring in Virginia, another colony of a different character was being founded a short distance to the north. George Calvert, or Lord Baltimore, was a member of the Virginia Company, and came to the conclusion that a colony on a purely commercial basis could not succeed. He therefore made up his mind to found one in which religion

should play an important part. Calvert was a Roman Catholic and a great favorite at the court of the king, and obtained from Charles I a grant of land of indefinite boundaries, lying to the north of the Potomac River. He also got a very liberal charter for the government of any colonies which he might found. He was to pay a yearly rent of two Indian arrowheads, and to give to the king one fifth of all the gold and silver which he might find. The power of the proprietor over the colonists was practically absolute. The land in the grant was named Maryland, at the king's request, in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria.

Lord Baltimore died before taking steps to colonize the new land, and his rights under the charter descended to his son Cecil. In November, 1633, Cecil Calvert sent out his brother Leonard with about two hundred colonists, and in the following March they founded St. Mary's on the Potomac River.

62. Religious Toleration is granted, 1649.—The proprietor was a Roman Catholic, but many of the colonists were Protestants and were granted religious toleration. The result was that they were contented and the colony prospered. Oppressed religious sects soon came from all quarters to seek a haven of refuge in the new colony. They were not disappointed. In 1649 the famous Toleration Act was passed which provided that no Christian should be interfered with in any way in the practice of his religion. This liberal and enlightened statute was the cause of much of the prosperity of the colony. The people also gained a degree of self-government and had a representative legislature which was divided into two houses, or chambers, in 1650.

63. Maryland became a Royal Province, 1691.—In a short time a marked change took place. In 1691 Maryland became a royal province, with the government vested in the crown. The Church of England was made the established church, other Protestant sects were frowned upon, and the Catholics were persecuted. The capital of the colony was moved from St. Mary's, which was a Catholic center, to Annapolis, which was

controlled by members of the Church of England. Thus a very great change was made in the original plans of Lord Baltimore. The change was not for the good of the colony. Its prosperity declined until 1715, when the heirs of Lord Baltimore were restored to power.

In 1729 the city of Baltimore was founded and soon became an important commercial seaport.

THE CAROLINAS, 1663

64. The Carolina Grant, 1663. — There was an immense tract of territory lying to the south of Virginia which had not as yet been given to any company or proprietor, and in 1663 Charles II gave the Carolinas to a group of eight of his friends, of whom the Earl of Clarendon and Governor William Berkeley of Virginia were members. In 1665 the boundaries were specified more definitely as extending from $36^{\circ} 30'$ on the north to 29° on the south. The country had been named Carolina by Jean Ribaut a century before this time in honor of Charles IX of France, and as a Charles was now on the throne of England, there was no need of a change in the name.

65. North Carolina was an Offshoot of Virginia. — A settlement had already been made on Albemarle Sound, the first permanent one within the present boundaries of North Carolina. In 1653 Roger Green had led a small band of followers from Virginia and had made the settlement. North Carolina was thus an offshoot from Virginia. It was provided in the grant given to Berkeley and others that the proprietors should recognize the claims of Green and his followers.

In 1664 the colony of Clarendon was established farther to the south, on the Cape Fear River. It was not the intention that two different colonies should be founded, but since the two settlements at Albemarle and Clarendon were so far apart, it was found convenient to give them separate governments.

William Drummond was appointed governor of the Albemarle settlement after it had been organized by Governor Berkeley of Virginia. John Yeamans was made governor of Clarendon. The colonists were given self-government on a simple plan, although the power of the proprietors under the charter was nearly absolute. Clarendon founded, 1664.

The rich soil and the profitable trade in lumber and fur attracted many settlers to the Carolinas, and others, not so desirable, were attracted by the peculiar laws. It was decreed that no debts contracted abroad before coming to the Carolinas could be collected there. This law served to bring many who wished to escape the payment of debt.

66. Locke's Constitutions a Failure. — In 1669 the proprietors asked John Locke, the great English scholar, to draw up a form of government for the Carolinas. He did so, and the result was the famous *Fundamental Constitutions*, which have been ridiculed ever since. The scheme was complex and unpractical and was never put into operation. It could not be. It provided for "landgraves" and "caciques" and other unheard-of orders of nobility which were impossible in the wilderness of the New World. The result of the whole matter was to make many of the settlers disgusted with every kind of government.

67. Charleston founded, 1670-1671. — The site of the Clarendon colony on the Cape Fear River was not a good one, and the settlement did not prosper. In 1670-1671 William Sayle made a settlement where Charleston now stands. The site was an excellent one, and the place soon became the most important one in South Carolina.

The southern settlements in Carolina were the more promising, and hence more attention was given to them. Englishmen came from the Bahamas, Virginia, and New England, Protestants came from France, and Scotch Presbyterians made a settlement at Port Royal, which was destroyed by the Spaniards in 1686.

68. Ludwell the First Governor of the Two Provinces, 1691. — In 1691 Philip Ludwell became the first governor of the two

provinces. He had a difficult time. Many of the settlers were dishonest debtors and worthless adventurers, and the governor was not equal to the task of controlling them. In 1695, however, John Archdale, a sensible Quaker, was made governor, and peace and prosperity followed. The factions ceased their quarrels, and there was religious toleration for all Christians except Roman Catholics. Yet even with this increase in prosperity the Carolina colonies were still weak at the close of the century. Sometimes they had separate governors, and sometimes one man was governor of both. In 1729 they were divided and became separate and distinct royal provinces, having been sold to the king by the proprietors.

Carolina
divided,
1729.

GEORGIA, 1733

69. Georgia was founded by Oglethorpe, 1733. — Georgia was the last of the thirteen English colonies to be established on the coast of North America. Its founding was due, not to commerce or religion, but to charity; and its founder was James Edward Oglethorpe, one of the greatest and best men of his time. Oglethorpe was an Oxford University man, and was prominent in the public life of England for nearly three quarters of a century. He was a member of Parliament and had been chairman of a committee of the House of Commons to visit the prisons. His humane and sympathetic nature was touched by the terrible sufferings which the prisoners were compelled to undergo. It was the custom at the time in England to imprison men for debt, and the unfortunate debtors appealed especially to Oglethorpe. He conceived the idea of founding a colony in America where the best of these debtors could go and begin life anew. He also thought that it would be a good idea to place his colony south of those already planted, so that it might serve as a bulwark against the Spaniards in Florida. The colony of Georgia was thus the result of two ideas of which the charitable one was the more important. Oglethorpe would also have his colony take

A colony
composed
largely of
debtors.

part in the profitable fur trade with the Cherokee Indians, but this also was a matter of less importance.

70. The Land Grant and the Form of Government. — Before Oglethorpe could begin this enterprise it was necessary that a large sum of money be raised. The prisoners could not be taken away until their debts were paid, and the cost of making the expedition to the New World and of founding the colony would be considerable. Oglethorpe succeeded in getting a number of wealthy and charitable men interested in his reform colony, and a grant of land was obtained extending from the Savannah to the Altamaha River. The grant was named Georgia in honor of King George II. The governmental power was placed in the hands of the company, or trustees, as they were called, as the unfortunate debtors were not considered capable of governing themselves. The charter had many excellent features, but it was found impossible to put some of them into force. Slavery was prohibited, the importation of rum was forbidden, and no one man was permitted to own more than five hundred acres of land. Religious toleration was granted to all sects except the Roman Catholics.

Georgia
named for
King
George.

71. The Colony started. — In November, 1732, Oglethorpe set out with thirty-five families, and in February following he founded the city of Savannah. This was the starting point of the new colony. He did not take the land away from the Indians by force, as many others had done, but he made an alliance with the Creeks and treated them with justice.

It was soon seen that the unfortunate debtors were not good material for the making of a colony. They had failed in England, and most of them did the same in America. Hence Oglethorpe sought new and better colonists to strengthen his enterprise. In 1734 some thrifty and industrious German Protestants came, and these furnished an excellent example to the shiftless debtors. Scotch Highlanders also came, and these, too, were a vast improvement over the original colonists. Ebenezer, Augusta, and Frederica

Debtors
proved poor
material for
a colony.

were founded, and the fur trade with the Indians became profitable.

It was the intention of the trustees to make silk culture an important feature of the colony. The mulberry tree was to be cultivated and the silkworm bred, and silkworms were placed on the seal of the colony as a symbol of its most important industry. The whole project, however, was a failure.

In 1743 Oglethorpe went to England, never to return to Georgia. After his departure matters went from bad to worse. The debtors were discontented and troublesome, but the Scotch and Germans were thrifty and contented. It was found impossible to exclude slaves and rum, as these were smuggled over the borders from other colonies. The Rum Act was repealed about the time of Oglethorpe's departure, and slaves were admitted in 1749.

72. Georgia made a Royal Province.—The charter was surrendered to the king in 1752, and Georgia became a royal province. This change was beneficial in many ways. At this time Georgia, although a fairly successful colony, was not a strong one. The whites numbered about twenty-four hundred and the blacks about eleven hundred. The silk culture had proved a failure; the debtors had been a disappointment; but the general condition of the colony was fairly satisfactory. Rice and indigo were raised with success, and the lumber and fur trades were profitable.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1607. Jamestown founded.
- 1619. Virginia House of Burgesses organized.
Slavery introduced into Virginia.
- 1634. St. Mary's founded.
- 1663. Carolina Grants made.
- 1729. The Carolinas separated.
- 1733. Savannah founded.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

1620-1700

73. The Early New England Colonists sought Religious Freedom in America. — The history of New England forms a striking contrast to that of the South. The southern colonies were founded, for the most part, on a commercial basis. It is true, of course, that religion had much to do with the colonization of Maryland, and that Georgia was founded primarily for unfortunate debtors; but as a rule the southern colonies were established by trading companies who wished to make money in the business. In New England there was a very different motive. The early settlers came to that locality, not for the purpose of gain, but that they might worship God in their own way. In England at the time they were not permitted to do this.

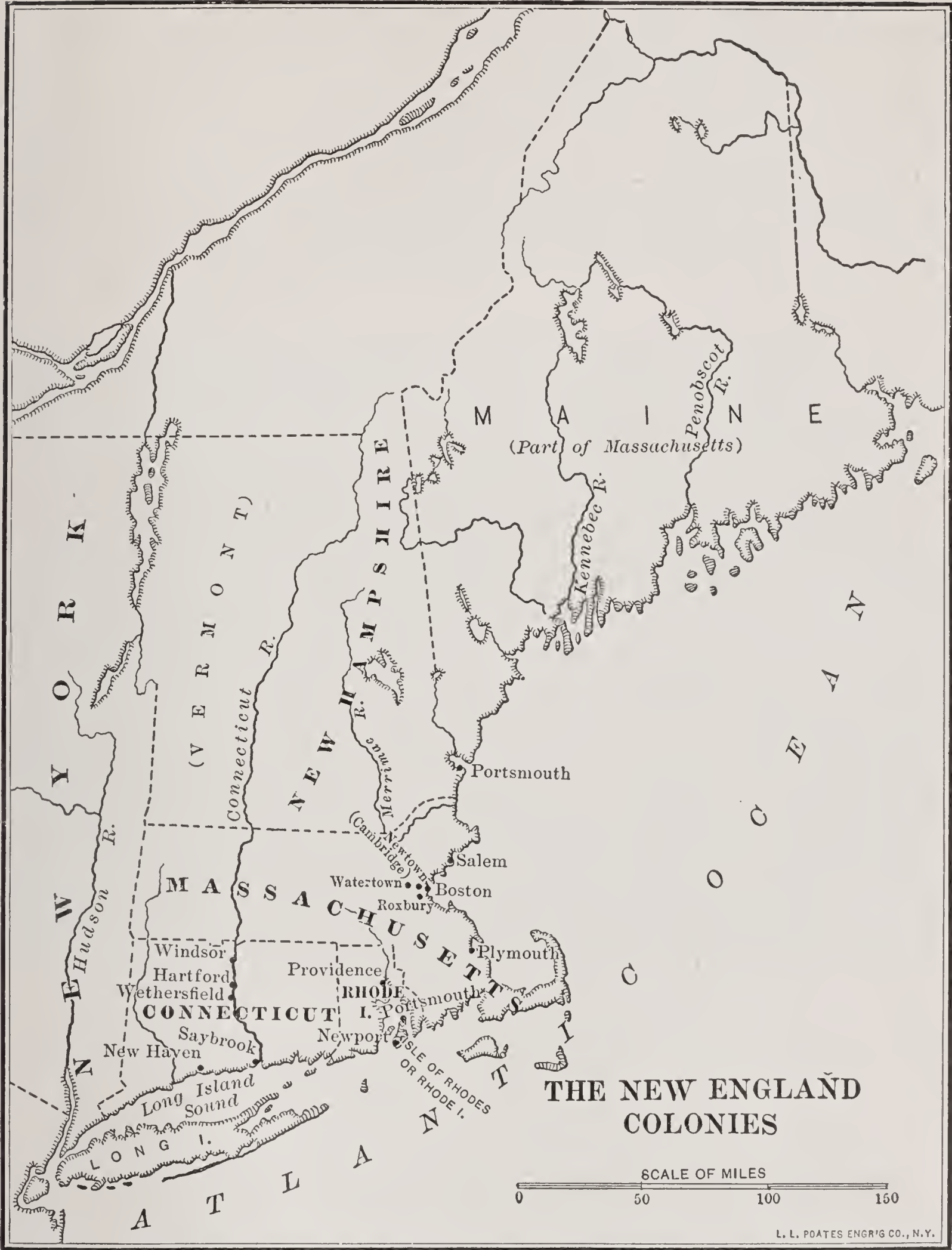
74. John Smith explores the New England Coast, 1614. — John Smith returned to America in 1614, and after exploring the northeastern coast, gave to the country the name which it still bears, "New England." Aside from the explorations of Smith there was very little activity about New England for several years. Men were afraid of the climate of the North and preferred to go to Virginia. The fisheries, however, did attract some hardy navigators, and a few fishing boats were sent out by the Plymouth Company. In 1620 the Company got a new charter giving it the land between 40° and 48° north latitude. It was subsequently known as the Council for New England, but the change of name does not seem to have stirred it to much activity.

PLYMOUTH

75. The Plymouth Colony is founded, 1620. — The first permanent colony in New England was founded at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, in 1620, but its founding was not due to the activity of the colonizing company. It was almost accidental, as we shall see later.

The founding of this colony leads us to the story of the "Pilgrim Fathers." In order to get a clear understanding of the causes which led the Pilgrims to come to America, it will be necessary to note briefly the various sects or divisions into which the Protestants of England were divided at the time. Many of these Protestants were members of the Church of England, or of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as we call it in the United States. But there was also a large number of sincere and earnest Protestants who did not conform in every respect to the Church of England. Some of these wished to remain in the Church, but were desirous of "purifying" it, as they said, and hence were called "Puritans." These men were very strict and rigid in the observance of what seemed to them to be their religious duties. In addition to the Puritans there was another body of Protestants who considered the purification of the English Church to be a hopeless task, and who, as a result of this view, determined to separate themselves from it. These were called "Separatists" or "Independents." It was a company of Separatists who founded the first permanent colony in New England, as we shall soon see.

There was no religious toleration in England at the time of which we are speaking. The Catholics were persecuted under Edward VI, and the Protestants under Mary, while under Elizabeth and her immediate successors all who did not conform to the Established Church of England were punished very severely. James I, who came to the throne in 1603, was especially harsh toward all who would not conform to his Church. "I will make them conform," he exclaimed in anger, "or I will harry them out of this land, or else worse."



The New England colonies, founded in 1620 and later, had an individuality peculiar to themselves. This individuality has been retained to some extent to the present day.

In their distress many of the oppressed people thought of going to Holland, where they might have religious freedom, and

in 1608 the congregation from the town of Scrooby in north central England went to Amsterdam under the leadership of their able and beloved pastor, John Robinson. The little flock was a sincere and devoted band, quite different from the gentlemen and idlers who had gone to Jamestown the year before. After remaining in Amsterdam a short time they went to Leyden. Here they found the religious freedom which they were seeking, but they were not contented. They were "strangers in a strange land." They were being influenced somewhat by their surroundings, and their children were slowly adopting Dutch customs. This they regretted, for they were Englishmen and dearly loved the country from which they had been driven. They accordingly determined to go to America, where they could worship God in their own way and still live as Englishmen. They made arrangements with the Virginia Company for the planting of a colony near the present location of New Jersey.

A part of the congregation left Holland in 1620 and stopped in England on the way to America. After a short delay they set sail for the lonely Jersey shores in two ships, the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*. They had not gone far when it was discovered that the *Speedwell* was unseaworthy. They put back to England, and on September 16, 1620, the *Mayflower* set sail alone on her memorable voyage with about one hundred persons on board. The voyage was a stormy one, and the little boat just narrowly missed going to the bottom. On November 19 they saw the shores of Massachusetts. The captain had lost his reckonings, and contrary winds had driven them farther north than they wished to go. Instead of landing they turned toward the south, but being unable to make much headway, they returned to the Massachusetts coast, and on December 21, 1620, landed at the spot which John Smith had called Plymouth — tradition says on "Plymouth Rock."

About a month before the landing the colonists felt the need

of some kind of an agreement in regard to their government. Hence they assembled in the cabin of their ship and signed the famous "Mayflower Compact." By this they declared that they had formed "a civil body politic" and that they would make just laws for the general good. This famous compact was signed by forty-one adult males of the company.

The "Mayflower Compact."



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS.

When the Pilgrims landed on the bleak New England shore in 1620, they fell on their knees and thanked God for preserving them from the perils of the ocean.

76. Early Trials of the Plymouth Colonists. — John Carver was the first governor of the colony, but he died in less than a year, and was succeeded by William Bradford, one of the ablest and best men in American colonial history. Bradford served the colony as governor almost continuously until his death in 1657. We are also indebted to him for an excellent history of the Plymouth colony. Elder William Brewster and Myles Standish, the famous soldier, were among the leading men of the colony.

Building homes on the bleak New England coast in midwinter was a very serious matter, but the courage of the Pilgrims did not fail them. The trials of the first winter were very severe. At one time only six or seven of the entire company were able to care for the sick and bury the dead, and when spring came about one half of the whole number were in their graves. Yet the brave hearts of the Pilgrims did not falter. They put in crops and built houses and made ready for the coming winter. It is a notable fact, too, that when the *Mayflower* returned to



PILGRIMS GOING TO CHURCH.

The Pilgrims were a very religious people. The Church was their most important institution, and they were regular in attendance. Their guns were necessary for defense against the Indians.

England in the spring of 1621, not a single colonist returned with her. The colonists obtained a grant of land from the Council for New England, into whose territory they had chanced to come, and they also made suitable arrangements with the Indians. After the harvests of the first year had been gathered they appointed a day of thanksgiving and prayer — the first Thanksgiving Day ever observed in America.

77. Other Towns established. — Other settlements were established in the vicinity of Plymouth, and it is a noticeable fact that even at this early time the life of New England was a town life.

In the South the people were spread out over isolated plantations, but in New England they clustered around the "meeting house."

In 1643 the Plymouth colony consisted of eight towns with a population of three thousand people. In 1670 the number had risen to eight thousand, and in 1691 the colony lost its identity by being joined to Massachusetts Bay Colony, which had sprung up around the present site of Boston.

Plymouth is joined to Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1691.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

78. Charter granted to Massachusetts Bay Company, 1629. — A new king, Charles I, came to the throne of England in 1625. He was no more tolerant in religious matters than his predecessors had been. In addition to religious intolerance he oppressed the people very severely in matters of government. This caused many Puritans to seek new homes in America. In 1628 John Endicott established a settlement on the Massachusetts coast at a place which the Indians had called Naumkeag, but which he changed to Salem, meaning "Peace." The most important steps in the colonization of New England, however, were taken at a later time. In 1629 a charter was obtained from the king, incorporating the Massachusetts Bay Company. This company was destined to do important things.

79. Boston and Other Towns settled, 1630; the "Puritan Exodus." — The charter was granted at a very favorable time. In 1629 King Charles made up his mind that he would rule absolutely and give the people no part in the government. He consequently dismissed Parliament in that year and summoned no other until 1640. During these years of oppression the great "Puritan Exodus" took place, during which twenty thousand people left England and sailed for America. Soon after the granting of the charter (April, 1630), John Winthrop, one of the best of men, sailed for Salem. He left Salem almost

Twenty thousand Puritans leave England for America in about ten years.

immediately after his arrival and went to the present site of Boston. During this year about one thousand colonists came. This was the most important attempt yet made in the colonization of the New World. The stream thus started continued to flow for ten years. Settlements were made at Watertown, Roxbury, Newtown, Boston, and other places in that locality. Eight distinct settlements were made within a single year, and in September, 1630, Boston was made the capital of the colony. In 1634 the colony had four thousand inhabitants scattered in twenty towns.



AN INDIAN WELCOME ON THE CHARLES RIVER.

The Indian would have been much less hostile toward the colonists if he had been treated fairly. In this instance he is meeting the white settlers with a present instead of a tomahawk.

Although the Massachusetts Bay Colony prospered as no other in America had done before, its policy in religious and political matters was exceedingly narrow. The Puritans came to America to find religious freedom for themselves, but would not tolerate views in

The Puritans
would not
allow reli-
gious tolera-
tion.

politics or religion which were different from their own. With them the Church and the State were inseparably connected, and no one not a church member was allowed to vote. The Quakers and other religious sects were harshly dealt with. Sometimes they were imprisoned, sometimes hanged on Boston Common, and sometimes driven with lashes out of the colony. The Puritans of Massachusetts were thrifty, sincere, and upright men, but in matters of religion they were exceedingly narrow and bigoted.

In educational matters they showed rare foresight. In 1636 the General Court, or Legislature, of Massachusetts appropriated four hundred pounds (about two thousand dollars) for the establishment of a college at Newtown, that "the light of learning might not go out, nor the study of God's word perish." Two years later the Rev. John Harvard died and left his library and one half of his estate (about four thousand dollars) to the college. The General Court then decreed that the college should bear his name, and that the name Newtown should be changed to Cambridge in honor of the seat of the English University.

Harvard
College
founded at
Newtown
(Cambridge).

RHODE ISLAND

80. Roger Williams leaves Massachusetts and founds Providence in 1636.—The Rhode Island colony was an offshoot from Massachusetts. The founder of the colony was Roger Williams. Williams was an able and honest man, but he must have been a very uncomfortable neighbor. He was a man of high standards, with a very sensitive conscience, and ready to fight against anything which did not seem to him to be exactly right. He was by nature a disturber, and was soon quarreling with the colonists of Massachusetts. He declared that the king had no right to give away the land upon which they were living, as that rightfully belonged to the Indians. He also disagreed with his fellow-men on matters of religion, and declared that there should be no connection between the Church and the

State. He also insisted on religious toleration. He was in advance of his time on many points, and as a result was brought to trial and banished in 1635. In January, 1636, he fled with a few followers to the Narragansett Bay country, purchased a tract of land from the Indians, and founded the town of Providence. He set up a very simple kind of republican government in which the will of the majority ruled. Two years later he founded the first Baptist church in America.

81. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and Followers found Portsmouth and Newport. — Other colonists of similar character came to Rhode Island soon after. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was another troublesome person whom the authorities banished from Massachusetts. She was tried in the fall of 1637, and in the following spring she too sought refuge on Narragansett Bay, where some of her friends had preceded her. They purchased the island of Aquedneck, situated eighteen miles south of Providence, from the Indians for some white beads. Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers founded Portsmouth and Newport, and in 1644 these two towns and a third and newer one called Warwick were united with Providence and were known as the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

CONNECTICUT, 1635

82. Connecticut was an offshoot from Massachusetts. — Connecticut was also an offshoot of Massachusetts, the parent colony. At the time that Roger Williams was stirring up such a commotion in that colony, John Winthrop, the son of the governor of Massachusetts, was founding the town of Saybrook near the mouth of the Connecticut River. In 1631 Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and others had obtained a grant of land along the river from the New England Company, and the new settlement was founded under the auspices of these men and named in their honor.

The most important movement to Connecticut came a little later. There were two motives which impelled the Massa-

chusetts men to seek the inviting Connecticut valley. In the first place there was not enough tillable land in the colony for all; then again many rebelled against the religious test for voting. In 1636 and 1637 there was a large migration from Massachusetts to the Connecticut valley, where eight hundred persons established themselves in Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. A little later (1638) a small company of men of high standing came from England and established an independent settlement at New Haven.

83. "The Fundamental Orders," 1639. — These people who left Massachusetts and came to Connecticut were supposed to be under the control of the Massachusetts government, which as a matter of fact exercised but very little control over them. Finally, in 1639, Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield adopted a written constitution called "The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." This practically made them an independent republic. The form of government resembles the present United States Constitution in some respects and is based on the right of the people to rule, making no mention of the king of England. This Connecticut document is notable as being "the first written constitution known in history, that created a government." It will be remembered that the compact made in the cabin of the *Mayflower* was not really a form of government, but rather an agreement to make one at a later time. The Connecticut form of government was more liberal than that of Massachusetts, and, as we might expect, there was no religious test for voting. This Connecticut constitution virtually ignored the power of the king and that of Massachusetts as well.

The Connecticut people framed a form of government for themselves without reference to Massachusetts or the king of England.

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE

84. Settlements were made about 1622. — Two other New England colonies yet remain to be noticed. In 1622 Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason obtained a grant of land between the

Merrimac and Kennebec rivers, and colonies were planted in that territory soon after. Some independent settlements were being made in New Hampshire at the time that Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were being settled. At some time before 1628 a settlement was made at Dover, and some others were made soon after. These independent towns were joined to Massachusetts in 1641–1643, and so remained until made a royal province in 1679. Six years later New Hampshire was again annexed to Massachusetts.

The early history of Maine is quite similar to that of New Hampshire. It, too, was a dependency of Massachusetts. As a result of the grant to Gorges and Mason settlements were made in what is now Maine, and during the years 1652–1658 these were joined to Massachusetts. Massachusetts now controlled all of the settlements north of Plymouth.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION, 1643–1684

85. Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven form the New England Confederation in 1643. — Up to 1643 the various New England colonies had very little to do with one another. Each managed its own affairs and there were almost no neighborly dealings. The time had now come, however, when a need of some kind of union was felt. The colonies might be called upon to defend their rights at any time. The king was displeased at the growing independence of the colonies; the Dutch at the south and the French at the north and west had shown some signs of hostility, and the Indians were threatening the frontier. To guard against these enemies the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven formed an alliance under the name “United Colonies of New England.” A constitution was adopted, and the governing body was composed of eight commissioners — two from each colony. These commissioners had charge of all affairs of

common interest to the colonies, while each colony managed its own local affairs without interference. The establishment of the New England Confederation was an important step in the development of the American Union. New Hampshire and Maine wished to enter the confederation, but were not permitted to do so.

The confederation served a good purpose, but soon began to languish, particularly after the capture of New Netherland. The four colonies contained twenty-four thousand people, and fifteen thousand of these were in Massachusetts Bay; yet that colony had no more voice in the proceedings than any other. She paid most of the taxes and had to bear the most of the burdens of the wars, but the colonies were not willing to allow her more than one fourth of the votes. In some instances she presumed to dictate to the other colonies, and jealousy was aroused.

The Confederation grew weaker after the English captured New Netherland, 1664.

THE INDIANS

86. The French managed the Indians better than the English did. — Although the Indian is now of little importance in American history, he was a very important factor in the history of the colonies. The Englishman never got along with the red man as well as the Frenchman did, and the English colonies were planted on our shores in the face of the most stubborn opposition on the part of the Indian. Some few Englishmen, like William Penn, Roger Williams, and James Edward Oglethorpe, succeeded in winning the affection and confidence of the Indians by kind and just treatment, but such instances were rare. The policy of the Englishman seemed to be to drive out the Indian rather than to conciliate him.

87. The Pequot War. — In New England the Indians were constantly threatening the frontier settlements. The Pequots were especially hostile toward the people of Saybrook, Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, and were chastised most severely in the spring of 1637. In May of that year an army of three

hundred colonists under John Mason and John Underhill made an attack upon the principal Pequot town and wiped it out of existence. Only a very few of the red men escaped. "It is reported by themselves," said Underhill, "that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands." Other reports say that six or seven hundred of the dusky savages fell in the awful slaughter. Only two of the colonists were killed. After this terrible lesson the little colonial army spread desolation by fire and sword throughout the entire Pequot territory. The Indians were sold into slavery, their food and wigwams were burned, and the entire tribe scattered. It was never again brought together. This was the end of the Pequots.

On the whole the New Englanders treated the Indians in a more kindly way than the other colonists did, with the single exception of the people of Pennsylvania. The land was purchased from them, treaties were made, and thousands of them were converted to the Christian faith. Meetings of the "praying Indians" were held, and John Eliot, "the apostle to the Indians," translated the Bible for their use. There were, however, occasional outbreaks.

88. King Philip's War. — In 1674 Philip, the chief sachem of the Pakanokets, whose territory was on Narragansett Bay, made a plot to exterminate the white men or drive them out of the country. For two years the settlers carried on a most desperate war with Philip and his allies. In one contest (at South Kingston) about one thousand red men lost their lives. This was one of the fiercest Indian battles ever fought on American soil. Finally Philip and his army, greatly reduced in numbers, were driven into a swamp near the bay, and on August 12, 1676, the great leader was shot and killed by an Indian friendly to the whites and "fell upon his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him; . . . upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas." The great war was over, but it took the colonies several years to recover their

strength. About a dozen towns had been entirely destroyed by the Indians and others partially so. Six hundred men had lost their lives and a burdensome war debt had been piled upon the colonies. One fact was settled, however: the white man was supreme in New England and the power of the Indian was broken.

SIR EDMUND ANDROS

89. Andros attempts to deprive the Colonies of their Charters, 1686. — The New England colonies continued to grow in wealth and numbers without serious interference from the kings of England until Charles II (1660–1685) came to the throne.

This king detested free government, and made New Hampshire a royal province in 1679 and caused the Massachusetts charter to be annulled on June 21, 1684, in spite of the protests of Increase Mather, president of Harvard College, and others. King Charles died in the following year (1685) and was succeeded by his brother James, a man even more cruel and tyrannical than himself. James sent over as his agent Sir Edmund Andros, a man “neither cruel nor rapacious, but coarse in fiber and wanting in tact.” It was the duty of Andros to reduce the colonies to subjection to the crown. In 1686 Andros came over as



KING PHILIP.

Philip became sachem, or chief, of the Wampanoag Indians in 1662, and later made a plot against the English “out of the naughtiness of his own heart,” as he himself said. At a later time he waged “King Philip’s War” and failed.

royal governor and demanded that the charters of the colonies be surrendered. Rhode Island complied with the demand, and the charter of Connecticut, tradition says, was hidden in the famous "charter oak," to prevent its falling into the hands of Andros. Things were looking very gloomy for the colonies

The
Revolution
of 1688
saved the
liberties of
the English
colonies.

when suddenly the "glorious Revolution" of 1688 in England changed the entire scene. The people of England in three short years grew tired of the tyranny of James and practically drove him out of the country. The rule of Andros was at an end, and great joy prevailed in New England.

The new monarchs, William and Mary, were more liberal toward the colonists. The charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut were returned, and a new one was granted to Massachusetts. The Revolution of 1688 came just in time to save the liberties of New England.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1620. Plymouth founded.
- 1630. Massachusetts Bay Colony founded.
- 1636. Roger Williams founded Providence.
- 1639. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut.
- 1643. New England Confederation organized.
- 1636. Harvard College founded.

CHAPTER VI

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

1609-1700

NEW YORK, 1609

90. New York was colonized by Dutch Trading Companies. — Virginia was founded by adventurers and fortune hunters; Maryland by Roman Catholics; Georgia by bankrupts; New England by Puritans in search of religious freedom; and New York, or New Netherland, as it was at first called, by colonists sent from Holland by a trading company. The Dutch had long been a prominent nation in Europe and now appeared in the colonization of America.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, when Drake, Gilbert, and Raleigh were scouring the seas and exploring unknown coasts, the Dutch took no part in the New World enterprises. They were employed at the time in a more serious business. They were contending in a desperate struggle for life and liberty against the Spaniards — one of the most notable and gallant contests ever waged by man. But in 1609 Philip, King of Spain, was compelled to acknowledge the independence of the valiant Dutch, and they were free to act. They turned their attention naturally to America.

91. Henry Hudson attempts to find a Water Route to India. — Henry Hudson, a famous English navigator and explorer, was in Holland at this time, and the Dutch eagerly sought his services. He was employed by the Dutch East India Company, which was much interested in the Eastern trade.

The idea of finding a water route to India had not yet been given up, and on April 4, 1609, Hudson sailed from Amsterdam

in his famous little boat the *Half Moon* in search of such a passage. It was thus two years after the founding of Jamestown and one year after the cold and hungry survivors of the "Popham colony" ¹ had returned from New England, that Henry



HENRY HUDSON.

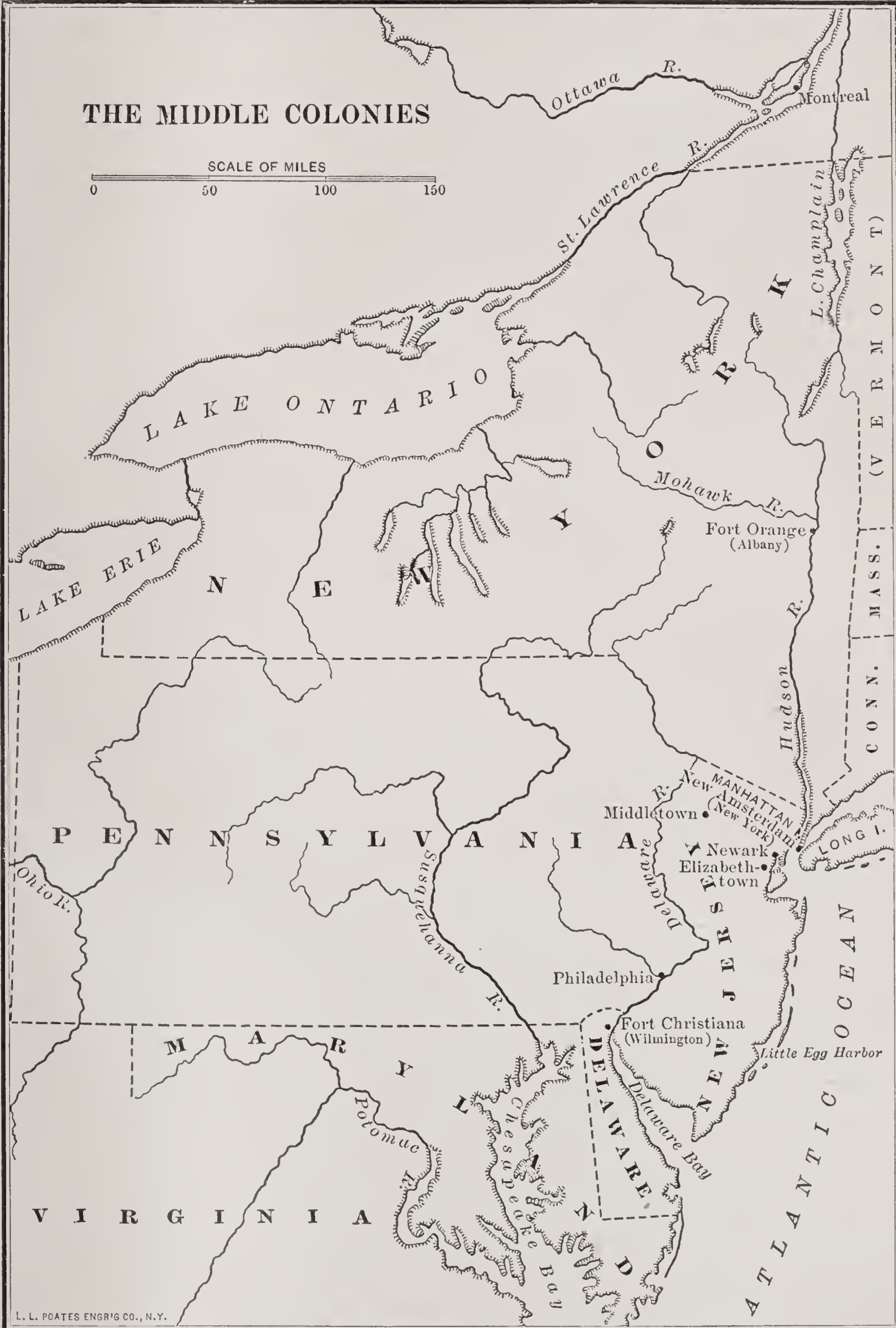
The great English navigator and explorer was born about 1550. He sailed four times in search of a northeastern or a northwestern passage to India, through the polar seas. He perished in the northern seas in 1611, having been set adrift in an open boat by his heartless crew.

New York harbor. He sailed up the river which now bears his name, as far as the present site of Albany, and saw prospects for a profitable fur trade with the Indians. He was also impressed with the wonderful beauty of the scenery, and any one who has visited the famous Hudson River Highlands will agree with him when he says that the land is "as beautiful as the foot of man ever trod upon." He had many friendly visits with the Indians, and in one instance they prepared a feast for him consisting of two pigeons and a fat dog, but he tells us that he did not accept the invitation of the red men to dine.

Hudson put out from the Zuyder Zee upon his memorable voyage. He thought that there might be a northwestern passage to India, and so he beat about the icy coasts of Norway for a time, and then turned his prow toward America. After being compelled by a hostile climate and mutinous sailors to abandon the quest for a northwestern passage, he attempted to find a passage by sailing in a southwesterly direction. He had received a letter from Captain John Smith in which it was stated that there might be such a passage somewhere to the north of Chesapeake Bay. So Hudson sailed in that direction, and on September 3, 1609, he weighed anchor in what is now

¹ A colony near the mouth of the Kennebec River, 1607-1608.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES



L. L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

Soon after this expedition Hudson disappears from history. His end was tragic and pathetic. He did not abandon his cherished idea of finding a northwest passage to India, and the year after he sailed up the Hudson he went to that bay in the frozen north which still bears his name. There, from November of 1610 to June of 1611, his little boat was firmly locked in fields of ice. The crew became discontented and even mutinous, and wanted to abandon the project and go home. Hudson, however, was not so easily discouraged and insisted on pressing on. The result was the rebellious crew set the hardy navigator with his son and seven sick companions adrift in an open boat in the Arctic seas, and then put back to Europe. Hudson was never seen again.

92. Fort Nassau built near Present Site of Albany, 1614.— Shortly after Hudson's time Adrian Block and others explored the country around Long Island and Manhattan, and in 1614 Fort Nassau was built near the present site of Albany.

93. Settlements made on Manhattan Island, 1615.— In the following year another trading post with a few cabins was built on Manhattan Island. In this same year (1615) the New Netherland Company was organized for trade and colonization, but did nothing, and gave way in 1621 to the Dutch West India Company. This company began operations in a businesslike manner and sent out a company of emigrants in 1623. A few of them remained on Manhattan, but the most important settlement was made where Albany now stands. It was called Fort Orange, in honor of the famous family which had done so much for Dutch liberty. Cornelius Jacobsen May was the first governor or director of the Company. The colony grew, and in 1625 there were more than two hundred inhabitants on Manhattan Island.

In 1626 Peter Minuet came over as director, and he purchased Manhattan Island, about twenty-two thousand acres, from the Indians for about twenty-four dollars. This sum would be equivalent in purchasing power to about one hundred and twenty dollars at the present

Peter
Minuet pur-
chases
Manhattan
Island from
the Indians.

time, — an insignificant amount when compared with the fabulous wealth now piled upon the island. Minuet consolidated the settlements of New Netherland under one head and founded New Amsterdam (now New York City) as the central trading post.

94. The Patroons. — The colony, however, did not make satisfactory progress, as too much attention was paid to trade and too little to agriculture. In order to encourage agri- Agriculture was encouraged by the Patroon system. culture a peculiar and interesting experiment was tried in 1629. In that year the Company obtained a charter from the legislature of Holland which permitted it to transplant the feudal system to America. It was provided in the charter that any one founding a settlement anywhere outside of Manhattan, of fifty or more persons above fifteen years of age, should be given a grant of land on the Hudson River, extending for sixteen miles on one side or for eight miles on the two sides, and as far into the interior as the situation of the occupiers would permit. This “Patroon,” or patron, was to be the “lord of the manor,” and the people living on his plantation were to be his subjects. In this way many large family estates were established on the Hudson, and some of them continued to comparatively recent times. In 1640 the estate of the Patroon was limited to one mile of river front extending two miles into the interior, but the governmental privileges remained the same. The Patroon system was successful in stimulating an interest in agriculture.

95. The Dutch were Tolerant in Religious Matters. — Another fact which should be noticed favored the growth of the New Netherland colony. In religious matters the Dutch were an exceedingly broad-minded people. Both in Holland and in America there was religious toleration among them when other nations were persecuting. The result was that New Netherland became a haven for the oppressed of all nations, and in 1643 there were eighteen different languages spoken on the streets of New Amsterdam.

96. Peter Stuyvesant a Gruff but Able Ruler. — In 1647 Peter Stuyvesant, strutting “like a peacock,” came to the colony as

director. Stuyvesant was a strange mixture of good and evil qualities. He has been well described as a "noble, honest,



PETER STUYVESANT.

The last governor of New Netherland was born in Holland in 1602, and served with distinction in the Dutch army. He became known as "Peter the Headstrong," and often, when in a rage, stumped furiously about upon his wooden leg, which was bound with bands of silver. After New Netherland was taken by the English he retired to a farm, and died in New York City in 1682.

tallest tree on the island!" The people, however, were not to be awed by this blustering talk, and demanded a share in the

The colonists
obtained
some self-
government.

government. They saw that their neighbors in New England had representative governments, and they desired similar rights. Stuyvesant grudgingly granted them a small part of their request.

In other respects Stuyvesant was the strong defender of the colony. There is evidence of this in his capture of New Sweden in 1655. In 1638 Peter Minuet, once director of New Netherland, was sent out by the South Company of Sweden to found a colony in America. He built Fort Christiana on the Delaware River, where Wilmington now stands, and called the country "New Sweden." Both the English and the

headstrong, opinionated, generous, kindly, conscientious, eager, lion-hearted old soldier." He was extremely tyrannical in his methods and could not tolerate the idea of self-government. He wished to rule the colony like a Czar, and would permit no appeal to a higher authority. On one occasion he remarked, "If a man tries to appeal from me to the States General [the legislature of Holland], I will make him a foot shorter, pack the pieces off to Holland, and let him appeal in that fashion." On another occasion he said to a man who had been sentenced to banishment, "If I thought there was any danger of your trying an appeal, I would hang you this minute to the

Dutch looked upon the Swedes as intruders and viewed their enterprise with hostile eyes. Finally, in 1655, Stuyvesant appeared with seven war ships and seven hundred men and demanded the surrender of the fort. New Sweden had but five hundred people in all, and there was nothing for them to do but to surrender. This was done and the control of the place passed into the hands of the Dutch. The Swedes were not disturbed in their mode of living. The change was one of allegiance and government simply. It is interesting to note that nine years later New Netherland fell in exactly the same way that New Sweden did.

Stuyvesant
captures
New Sweden
in 1655.

97. The English capture New Netherland and name it New York, 1664. — In the meantime the English were viewing the success of the Dutch with alarm. The little Holland colony was entered like a wedge between the English colonies in New England and those in the South. There could be no unity among the English colonies, and even now trouble had arisen over boundary disputes. Furthermore, the Dutch had possession of the best harbor on the Atlantic coast, and the Hudson River was an important highway for the Indian fur trade. Under these circumstances it was not difficult for Charles II of England to convince himself that the Dutch were intruders and that the country rightfully belonged to the English. Although he had no valid reason for doing so, he sent out an expedition in 1664 to take possession of New Netherland. In August of that year Colonel Nicolls appeared before New Amsterdam, then a city of sixteen hundred people, and demanded its surrender. Nicolls had four ships and about four hundred and fifty men and was reënforced by a large number from New England. Stuyvesant had only one hundred and fifty trained men and two hundred and fifty citizen soldiers, upon whom he could not fully rely. The bluff old director blustered about a good deal, but was finally compelled to yield. "I would rather be carried to my grave," he said, but he surrendered, and New Amsterdam became New York, and Fort Orange became Albany, both names having been changed in honor of the king's brother, the

Duke of York and Albany. By October the English had possession of all the Dutch towns, and New Netherland was no more. The capture of New Amsterdam was an important



GOVERNOR STUYVESANT OF NEW NETHERLAND DESTROYING THE DEMAND FOR SURRENDER, 1664.

When the English Colonel Nicolls appeared with his troops before New Amsterdam in 1664, he sent in a demand for the surrender of the town. The council and magistrates asked Stuyvesant to read the demand to the people, but the governor refused and, in a rage, tore the paper to pieces.

event in the uniting of the English colonies in America, and Charles II aided the development of American liberty without intending to do so. The English now had control of

the entire Atlantic coast from the present site of Savannah to Maine.

The Duke of York became the proprietor of the new English possession, but Dutch manners and customs continued, and some of the offices were still held by the Dutch. Self-government was quietly introduced and the colony prospered greatly under English rule.

Dutch manners and customs continue.

In 1664 there were about ten thousand people in the province, and about sixteen hundred of these were in New York City. At the end of the century the population was about twenty-five thousand.



THE CITY OF NEW YORK ABOUT 1670.

In 1673 New York was retaken by the Dutch, much to the joy of the old settlers, but was given back to the English by treaty in the following year.

98. Andros is made Governor of New York and New England in 1688. — From 1683 to 1688 Thomas Dongan, an enlightened man, was governor of the province, and during his administration the people secured a greater part in the government. In 1688, however, there came an important change. When James II became king of England, he made New York a royal province and appointed Edmund Andros governor of New York and New England in 1688. The rule of Andros was short-

lived, however. James was detested in England, as we have seen, and was driven out of the country by the Revolution of 1688. The revolution in England caused one in America, and Jacob Leisler usurped control of the government. In 1691 Leisler surrendered to Colonel Henry Sloughter, the royal governor, who, while intoxicated, signed the death warrant of Leisler. A new form of representative government was introduced, and things went on in New York in a quiet and uneventful way for the remainder of the century.

NEW JERSEY, 1664

99. Berkeley and Carteret.—Before the conquest of New Netherland by the English some of the Dutch had wandered down into the territory now known as New Jersey and had made settlements there. The systematic colonization of New Jersey, however, begins with 1664. In that year the Duke of York granted to two of his favorites, Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the land between the Delaware and Hudson rivers. The territory was called New Jersey in honor of Carteret, who as governor of the island of Jersey had valiantly defended his land from the enemies of the king. The grant also gave the proprietors full power to govern any colonists who might occupy their lands.

In 1665 the proprietors drew up a charter called the “Concessions and Agreements,” which was to serve as a form of government for present and future settlers in their territory. This was the first constitution of New Jersey. It gave the colonists some part in legislation, but provided that all the laws were to be made subject to the approval of the proprietors.

Philip Carteret, a relative of one of the proprietors, immediately set out with a company of emigrants to establish a colony under the new charter. He came to New Jersey in 1665 and founded Elizabethtown, of which he was the governor. Middletown and Newark were founded in 1666.

A short time after the coming of Carteret the colonists and proprietors quarreled over the rents, and Berkeley, becoming disgusted with the whole matter, sold his undivided half of the territory to a party of Quakers for one thousand pounds.

100. William Penn and Others purchase West Jersey. — By two successive purchases (1674 and 1676) the Berkeley interest fell into the hands of William Penn and other Quakers. Up to 1674 the territory was undivided, but in that year, after the Dutch had lost New York for a second time, the king confirmed the grant of New Jersey, and the new grant gave Carteret the eastern part, and the Quakers the western. Two years later (1676) Carteret and the Quakers agreed on a definite boundary line separating East and West Jersey. It was agreed that Carteret should have all the land situated on the east side of a line drawn from Little Egg Harbor to the point where the parallel $41^{\circ} 40'$ crosses the Delaware River. The Quakers were to have the land on the west of this line.

The Quakers set up a liberal and enlightened government in West Jersey. They were being persecuted elsewhere, and appreciated the blessings of political and religious freedom. They granted religious toleration to all who kept the peace, and they set up a system of self-government. “They put power in the people,” to use their own words. In 1677 about four hundred Quakers came from England to enjoy the blessings of this haven of liberty. In 1680 Sir George Carteret died, and two years later William Penn and twenty-four associates, many of whom were not Quakers, purchased East Jersey from the Carteret heirs. The two parts were united under one head, and both prospered.

101. Charter surrendered to the King in 1688. — When James II came to the throne of England, he demanded the surrender of the New Jersey charter. In 1688 the grants were surrendered to the crown, but the landed rights remained in the hands of the proprietors. New Jersey was annexed to the northern colonies under the rule of the infamous Andros. Finally, in 1702, weary of the quarrels

Penn and the Quakers grant political and religious liberty.

New Jersey became a royal province in 1702.

over rents and other matters, the proprietors surrendered all their rights to the king, and New Jersey became a royal province. From this time until 1738 New Jersey was under the control of the governor of New York, who ruled it through his deputy.

PENNSYLVANIA, 1681

102. William Penn. — The Pennsylvania colony has an interesting history, largely because it is so closely identified with the personality of William Penn, one of the most famous men of his time. The father of Penn was an admiral in the English navy, a member of the House of Commons, a favorite with the king, and one of the most influential men in England. The younger Penn was sent to Oxford University, where he became famous as a scholar and an athlete. He was a powerful oarsman and well versed in ancient and modern languages. He could read and speak Latin, Italian, French, German, and Dutch, and was also proficient in Greek. In addition to this we know from his letters and other writings that he was an expert in the use of his mother tongue. While at Oxford he became a convert to the teaching of George Fox, the leader of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. This displeased his father, and he was removed from college and sent to Paris with the hope that he might forget his new religious ideas in the gayeties of the French capital. It did not turn out so, however, and Penn clung to his religious beliefs to the day of his death.

When he left Oxford he was eighteen years of age and was described as "tall, lithe, and strongly built, a picture of manly beauty, with great lustrous eyes under wide arching brows, a profusion of dark hair falling in curls on his shoulders, a powerful chin, a refined and sensitive mouth."

103. Penn obtains a Grant of Land in what is now Pennsylvania in 1681. — In 1670 Admiral Penn died and left a large estate to his son. He also bequeathed to him a claim of sixteen thousand pounds against the government and committed him with his dying words to the care of the king's brother, the

Duke of York. We have already seen how Penn, by the purchase of land in New Jersey, became interested in American colonization. At a later time he concluded that he would like to go into the enterprise on a more extensive scale. Fortunately it so happened that the king had very little ready money for the payment of debts, but he had an abundance of land in America which he was very willing to dispose of. It was consequently arranged that Penn's claim against the government should be paid in land. In 1681 Charles II gave him a grant of forty thousand square miles of territory in the New World. Penn wished to call his possession "New Wales," because he had been informed that there were ranges of hills to the west of the Delaware River. There seemed to be some objection to this name on the part of the king, and Penn substituted the name "Sylvania," or the woodland. To this name the king prefixed the word "Penn," thus forming the name as we now know it. Penn objected with becoming modesty to the new name because he thought it might be "looked on as vanity"; but the king quieted his fears by bluntly remarking: "Don't flatter yourself. We will keep the name to commemorate the Admiral, your noble father."

Penn was now ready to enter upon what he called his "holy experiment." He advertised his plans widely and offered to sell small holdings of land at very low rates. He also held out self-government and religious liberty as additional inducements to colonists. The result was that in the autumn of the same year



WILLIAM PENN.

Born in 1644, and while imprisoned in the London Tower for religious convictions wrote his principal work, "No Cross, No Crown." On the site of the famous "Treaty Elm" in Pennsylvania a monument was placed with this inscription: "Treaty Ground of William Penn and the Indian Nation. Unbroken Faith." He died in 1718.

(1681) in which the grant was obtained three shiploads of people set out for Penn's forests under the command of William Markham, the cousin of Penn, as deputy governor. Some settlers had found their way into these domains long before Penn obtained possession of them, and to these Penn sent a friendly and candid greeting in a letter carried by Markham. "My friends," he said, "I wish you all happiness, here and hereafter. These are to let you know that it hath pleased God, in his Providence, to cast you within my lot and care. . . . I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. . . . I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. I am your true friend, — William Penn."

In the following year (1682) he wrote a tender letter of farewell to his wife and came to America in person to care for the interests of his "holy experiment." He was delighted with the beauty and repose of the woodland, and exclaimed, "O how sweet is the quiet of these parts!" The site for the capital had already been chosen, and Penn proceeded to lay out its streets in regular order between the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers. The place was named Philadelphia, or the City of Brotherly Love. The first streets of this now famous city were named after the various trees which grew in great abundance where the pavements have long since been laid.

The form of government which Penn gave to the settlers was a very liberal one — much like that which he had set up in West Jersey. He kept his promises in regard to self-government and religious toleration, and the laws made soon after his arrival were equally enlightened. They provided, among other things, for the care of the poor and humane treatment of prisoners.

After a short stay in Pennsylvania the proprietor returned to England in 1684, where he remained for fifteen years. During his absence the colony continued to prosper, but there was a good deal of turbulence and discontent, as there was in proprietary colonies generally.

He begins
his "holy
experi-
ment."

Grants a
liberal form
of govern-
ment.

Pennsyl-
vania pros-
pers.

In spite of the disorder the colony, as we have seen, prospered. It was compelled to endure no such trials and privations as those which afflicted Jamestown and Plymouth, but was a success from the very start. In 1684 there were three hundred and fifty-seven houses in Philadelphia, and in 1685 there were more than eight thousand inhabitants in the colony. Pennsylvania had grown more rapidly than any other colony except Massachusetts, and had grown as much in three years as New Netherland had in fifty. It established schools as early as 1683, and became an asylum for the oppressed of every nation. In its early years about one half of its inhabitants were of English origin, but the Dutch, Swedes, French, Scotch-Irish, Germans, and Finns were well represented in Penn's colony.

It becomes a
haven for the
oppressed.

DELAWARE

104. Penn obtained Delaware in 1682.—In 1682 Penn obtained by a special grant from the Duke of York that territory now known as Delaware. Pennsylvania was called the “province,” and Delaware the “territories,” but both were under the rule of Penn until 1703. In that year the proprietor, becoming weary of the continued discord, set up the territories as a separate colony under the name of Delaware.

105. Penn was Just in his Dealings with the Indians.—Penn's dealings with the Indians were remarkably successful. It has been truly said that he “knew instinctively what chords in the Indian's nature to touch.” And yet his policy was a very simple one. He was humane, honest, and just in his dealings with the red men and never broke his promises to them. The Shackamaxon treaty made with the Indians in 1682 under the famous elm, which stood until the nineteenth century, is a remarkable example of justice—“the only treaty,” says Voltaire with fine sarcasm, “between savages and Christians that was never sworn to and never broken.”

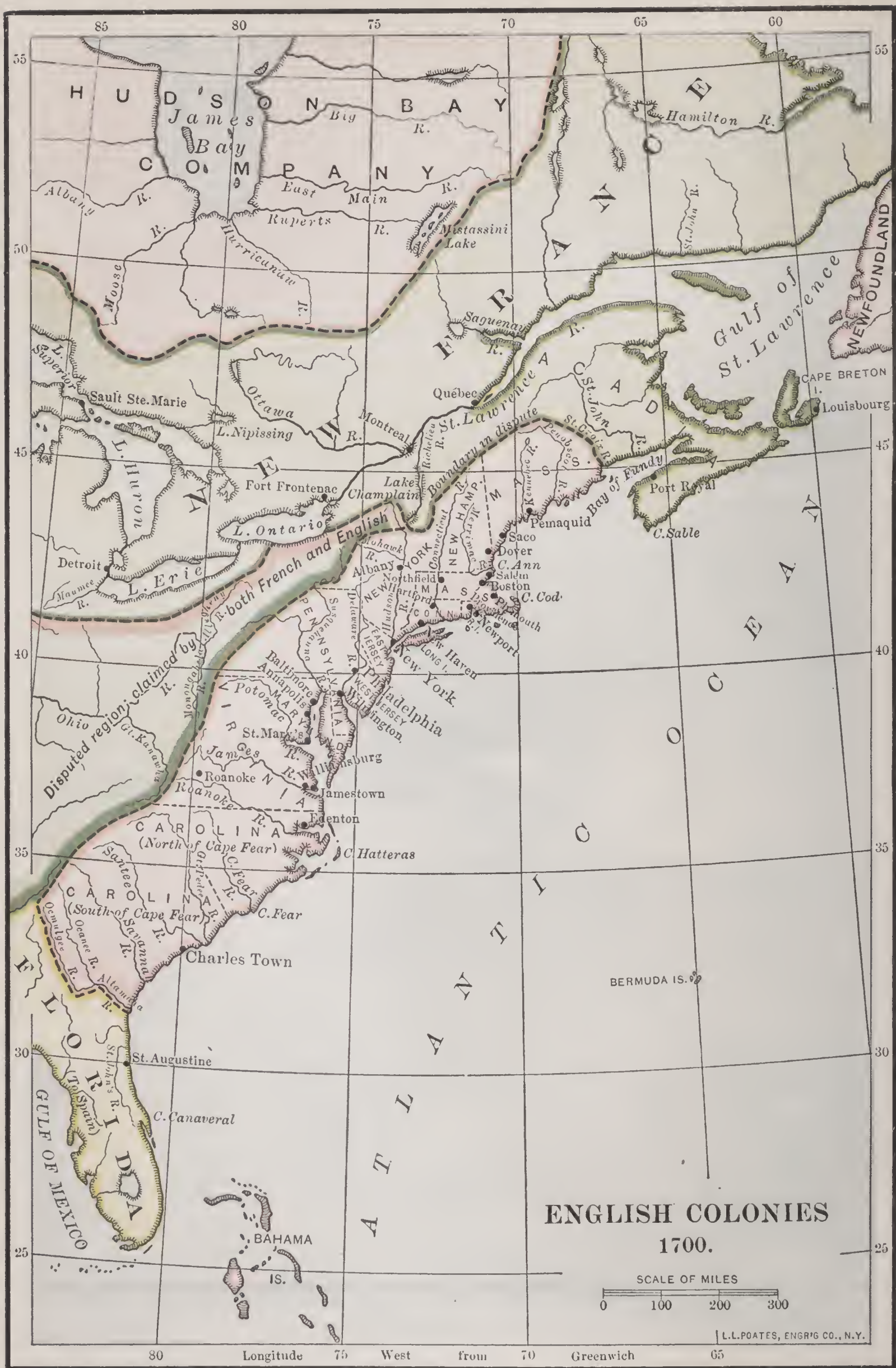
Although Pennsylvania was settled three quarters of a cen-

ture after the founding of Jamestown, she soon caught up with some of the older colonies and even surpassed many of them. A writer whose book was published in England in 1698 speaks of the "stately houses" and the "fine squares and courts" of Philadelphia and the "great and extended traffique and commerce" of the colony. "Of lawyers and physicians," says the writer, "I shall have nothing to say, because the country is very peaceable and healthy. . . . There are no beggars to be seen, nor, indeed, have any here the least temptation to take up that scandalous, lazy life."

The growth
of Pennsyl-
vania was
rapid.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1609. Henry Hudson reached New York harbor.
- 1655. New Sweden captured.
- 1664. Conquest of New Netherland.
- 1664. New Jersey Grants to Berkeley and Carteret.
- 1681. Grant to William Penn.
- 1688. "Glorious Revolution" in England.
- 1703. Delaware separated from Pennsylvania.



CHAPTER VII

THE PROGRESS OF THE COLONIES

1700-1750

106. Population. — During the first half of the eighteenth century the American colonies made considerable progress. Their general prosperity is fairly well indicated by the growth of their population. In spite of Indian attacks, disease, and the hardships of a pioneer life the colonists increased in numbers. Religious disputes and quarrels with the mother country over commerce also tended to check the growth of the colonies, but notwithstanding all of this the population continued to increase.

The total population of the colonies in 1700 was about 253,000. In 1750 it had increased to 1,370,000. In 1700 New England had 105,000 people; in 1750 it had nearly 400,000. In 1700 the Middle Colonies had 59,000 inhabitants, and in 1750 they had about 355,000. The South had a population of 89,000 in 1700, and by the middle of the century the number had increased to about 620,000. Virginia was the most populous colony, having about 300,000 people in 1750. Many of these, however, were negro slaves. Massachusetts was second in size, and Pennsylvania third. Georgia, the youngest colony, was also the smallest and did not have more than 5000 inhabitants in 1750.

Population increased steadily during the first half of the eighteenth century.

107. Pursuits. — Agriculture was the principal occupation, and the colonists depended for the most part upon their own farm products for a livelihood. In Virginia tobacco was the leading crop, and large quantities of rice were raised in the swamps of South Carolina. Lumbering was carried on, tanneries and distilleries

Agriculture was the principal occupation.

were built, and shipbuilding was an important industry. Much of the manufacturing was done in the homes of the people. Nails were made in this way, so also was the homespun cloth from which the clothing of the colonists was made.

Fishing, particularly along the banks of Newfoundland, gave occupation to many, and others were engaged in a profitable commerce with the West Indies.

108. Slavery. — Slavery existed in all of the colonies, but was much more profitable in the South than in the North.

Slavery was more profitable in the South than in the North. Slaves could not be used to good advantage on the small farms of New England, and slavery was dying out in that locality. In the South, on the other hand, slave labor was exceedingly profitable. The slave could be used to a good advantage on the large southern plantations, and he was particularly useful in the tobacco fields of Virginia and in the rice swamps of South Carolina. In the Middle Colonies the slaves were not numerous. In Pennsylvania the Quakers were opposed to slavery on moral grounds, and in New York the slaves constituted only about ten per cent of the population. In South Carolina they made up sixty per cent of the whole people, and new supplies were constantly coming from the wilds of Africa. In the malarial rice swamps of the South the average life of a slave was short, and new recruits were necessary. Many of these new slaves were savages from the jungles of Africa, and in some localities the people lived in constant dread of slave rebellions.

In many of the colonies — particularly in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia — there was a class of people known as **Indented servants.** indented servants. These were not slaves, but were bound to service for a term of years. In many instances they had their passages paid to America, and agreed to work for a certain time to repay the money thus advanced.

109. Religion. — The influence of religion was very strong in the colonies. The Congregational Church and the Church of England were the most powerful. In Maryland the Church of England was established by law and supported by the gov-

ernment. All of the people, whether members of this church or not, were obliged to pay taxes for its support. In Virginia and the Carolinas the arrangement was about the same. The Congregational Church bore about the same relation to New England that the Church of England did to the South. Religious toleration had not advanced very far. Roman Catholics were oppressed everywhere except in Pennsylvania.

The Congregational Church and the Church of England were the most influential.

110. Education. — There was a desire for education among the colonists, but their means to provide for it were scanty. Public schools were started at an early date, though many children were educated in private schools, or by private teachers in the households. In all of the New England states, with the exception of Rhode Island, provisions were made for public schools. In these schools reading, writing, and arithmetic were the most important studies. In a few of the larger towns there were academies which prepared students to enter the colleges. These colleges were about equivalent to our high schools.

Public schools were not numerous in colonial times.

In New York the public school seems to have been neglected at this time. There were some public schools in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but only a very few in Maryland. In Virginia there was none. The children of this colony were educated privately or sent to England for that purpose.

111. Witchcraft. — There did not seem, however, to be education enough to banish the superstition of the time. People somehow thought that certain elderly women were possessed of evil spirits and thus caused whatever misfortune befell the colony. The people of Salem, Massachusetts, thought that certain women whom they called witches brought on the Indian attacks, small-pox, and various diseases, and should be put to death. They acted upon the command which they found in their Bibles, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and before the witchcraft delusion disappeared a large number of unfortunate but innocent persons had lost their lives.

112. Attacks on the Charters. — It is customary for histo-

rians to say that the first half of the eighteenth century was a prosy period in the history of the American colonies. There were not many dramatic scenes or picturesque events in that period, yet it is now plain that the struggle for American liberty had begun even then.

The New England colonies — and especially Rhode Island and Connecticut — had succeeded in obtaining very liberal char-

The struggle between the colonies and the mother country began at this time. ters from the kings of England. These favorable documents aroused the jealousy of the English Parliament, and various attempts were made to annul the charters, and to set up the colonies as royal provinces. The colonies, however, had shrewd agents in London who succeeded in protecting their rights.

When it was proposed, for example, in 1715, to unite Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire in one royal province, Jeremiah Dummer, the colonial agent from Connecticut, made a vigorous protest. He said that the colonies had an “undoubted right” to their charters, since they had been granted by the king for all time. He also said that the colonies had not forfeited their charters through misbehavior, since they were loyal

The colonists resist. to the mother country, and he expressed the opinion that the repeal of the charters would check the prosperity of the colonies, and at the same time injure the commerce of England. This line of argument was successful, and the members of Parliament ceased their attacks for the time upon the New England charters.

113. Boundary Disputes were Frequent. — In addition to the quarrels with the mother country the colonies had numerous disputes concerning the location of boundary lines. The kings of England when granting tracts of land to companies and to individuals had been exceedingly careless about exact boundaries. They thought apparently that there was land enough for all, and they did not look forward to the time when the settlements would expand sufficiently to come into contact with each other. The boundary difficulties, however, were not all due to the carelessness of the kings. The fact is, that America

had not been surveyed, and its geography was not accurately known. For these reasons it was not possible to set forth exact boundaries in the charters.

The boundary disputes were, in some cases, long drawn out. The line between Connecticut and Massachusetts was not finally fixed until 1826, and that between Connecticut and Rhode Island not until 1840. The dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland was settled in 1732, and in 1767 Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, eminent English surveyors, fixed the famous "Mason and Dixon's line" which has since been looked upon as the dividing line between the North and the South. This line marks the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The survey of Mason and Dixon extended over a number of years, having been interrupted by Indian attacks in 1751-1752.

114. Quarrels between the Governors and the Colonial Legislatures.—The first half of the eighteenth century witnessed many important struggles between the colonists and their royal governors. These struggles furnished an excellent training for the more important ones which preceded the Revolution. A few examples of these contests will serve to show their general nature. In several of the colonies the legislatures differed with the governors in regard to the amount of salary which the latter should receive. The people of Massachusetts insisted upon their rights in this respect very vigorously. They considered themselves Englishmen, and held that they had a right to raise money and to spend it as they saw fit. As a result of this, "deadlocks" occurred and public business was frequently brought to a full stop.

In South Carolina the governors favored the Church of England, and this also aroused the opposition of the people.

In Pennsylvania the controversy was perhaps the most vigorous. The Penn family owned a large amount of land and refused to pay taxes on these proprietary estates. After a long struggle they yielded in 1759. Another source of difficulty in Pennsylvania lay in the fact that the Quakers were opposed to

war and refused to give money to equip and maintain troops. A small army seemed to the governors to be absolutely necessary for purposes of defense.

The people of New York had a most distressing experience with their governor, Lord Cornbury. Lord Cornbury was a cousin to Queen Anne of England, and so thought perhaps that he was entitled to special privileges. On one occasion the legislature of New York voted twelve thousand dollars for fortifications, and the governor promptly stole the money and used it for his private purposes. He was removed from office and imprisoned to await the payment of his debts, while the legislators said that they would not vote any more money for public purposes until they were sure that it would be expended by honest officials.

On the whole it may be said that the legislatures gained in power as a result of these quarrels with the royal governors. The legislatures insisted on their rights, and the governors were, in many instances, weak characters.

The char-
ters of Rhode
Island and
Connecticut
were liberal.
In Rhode Island and Connecticut no such disputes took place. The charters of these colonies were exceedingly liberal and provided for self-government and the election of governors by popular vote. The people thus had matters in their own hands.

115. Plans of Union appear Early in the Eighteenth Century.— From the founding of the colonies until about 1700 each colony had its own separate existence and had almost nothing to do with its neighbors. But in the early part of the eighteenth century they began to realize that they had some interests in common. The Indian wars and the growing hostility of the French made them feel that some kind of a union was necessary for the common defense. Virginia became the natural leader of the South, and Massachusetts of the North, while Pennsylvania and New York were prominent among the Middle Colonies.

Plans of union were suggested from time to time. The New England Confederation of 1643 was the earliest of these plans and served as a model for many of those which followed. (See § 85.)

In 1754 Benjamin Franklin, one of the leading men of Pennsylvania, made a sort of constitution for the colonies which resembled somewhat the Articles of Confederation of a later time. Franklin's plan provided for a central or general government which was to have charge of all matters of common interest to the colonies, such as wars, dealings with the Indians, and the sale of public lands. Each colony was to manage its private affairs as it had been doing, and as the various states now do.

Franklin's plan resembled the Articles of Confederation.

Although a great war with the French and Indians was about to begin, and the necessity for some form of union was clearly seen, the plan was not adopted. Franklin remarked that it was rejected by the king because it gave too much power to the colonies, and was rejected by the colonies because it gave too much power to the king. It was evidently impossible to please the king and the people at the same time. At a later time the plans of union sprang from the people with no thought of pleasing the king.

It was rejected.

116. The Westward Movement began in the Early Part of the Eighteenth Century. — Up to the eighteenth century the English colonies in America were but a fringe on the Atlantic coast east of the Alleghany Mountains. In the first half of this century, however, the territory beyond the mountains was opened up for settlement. In 1716 Governor Spotswood of Virginia with a large party of men in hunters' garb crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains and entered the Shenandoah valley, since made famous in the Civil War. Hitherto this locality had been veiled in mystery, but after Governor Spotswood's expedition many immigrants came to take advantage of the great fertility of the valley.

In 1748 another band of hunters and adventurers crossed the ridge and took possession of land claims in what is now Kentucky and Tennessee. In the following year the Ohio Company was formed for the purpose of making settlements in this western country. Many leading Virginians, including two brothers of George Washington, were members of this company.

They obtained a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land from the king and proceeded to make settlements.

This westward movement was a very important event in the early history of America. It opened the way for the settlement of that immense area west of the Alleghany Mountains, and it also brought the English into contact with the French who were occupying the interior. While the English were colonizing the Atlantic coast, the French were distributing themselves along

The English come into contact with the French in the interior.

the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Ohio and Mississippi. Now that the English had crossed the Alleghany Mountains a conflict between the two nations was certain. This conflict broke out in 1754 and resulted in establishing the supremacy of the

English. We shall see in the following chapter how this came about.

When the reader remembers that the Pope by a decree issued in May of 1493 divided the heathen world between Spain and Portugal and that all of North America fell to Spain, he may be puzzled to know how England, France, and Holland succeeded in obtaining land in what is now the United States.

The "right of discovery" theory takes the place of the Pope's decree of 1493.

When the decree was issued, the Pope was exceedingly powerful in the affairs of Europe and his decision was received with great respect. Soon, however, England, France, and Holland came to look upon it as unjust and made up their minds to disregard it.

Then the doctrine called the "right of discovery" came to take the place of the Pope's bull. Under this doctrine it was held that a Christian nation which discovered a heathen land was the owner of it, but must take possession by actual occupation within a reasonable time. The native inhabitants were looked upon as occupants of the soil merely without legal right to the land which they occupied. Under the "right of discovery" theory Spain and Portugal lost their special privileges and all the nations of Europe contended for territory on the American continent on equal terms.

In conclusion, then, it should be said that although the first

half of the eighteenth century was in some respects a dull period, nevertheless the colonies grew in numbers and increased in wealth ; that the spirit of liberty was increasing, and that the idea of self-government was growing. There was also a feeling of unity among the colonies which prepared them for the great struggle with France, to which we must now turn our attention.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1716. Governor Spotswood starts westward movement.
- 1754. Franklin's plan of union.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN

117. France and Britain contend for the Possession of India and America. — France and Britain were the two leading nations of the world in the eighteenth century, and both were striving vigorously at this time to obtain more territory. The two nations were natural rivals. They differed in race and in religion, and had been at swords' points for centuries. In 1066 William, the Duke of Normandy, came from the northern part of France and took forcible possession of England in the so-called Norman Conquest, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the two countries contended in the Hundred Years' War. Now, in the eighteenth century, they were again engaged in a life and death struggle in India and in America.

It will be necessary for us, before taking up the story of this contest for supremacy in North America, to consider the work of the French explorers and the establishment of the French colonies in America.

FRENCH EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION

While the English, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch were sending out exploring expeditions, the French were by no means idle. They were an active and ambitious people and were desirous of building up a French empire on the American continent.

118. John Verrazano, 1524. — Accordingly, in 1524, John Verrazano, an Italian in the employ of the king of France, set out in an attempt to find an all-water route to the East. He failed in this, but he explored the American coast from the Cape Fear River to Newfoundland.

119. In 1534 Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence. — Ten years later the French appeared in the region of the St. Lawrence River. In 1534 Jacques Cartier, while searching for a route to the Indies, entered the mouth of the St. Lawrence and sailed up the river for a considerable distance, or “until land could be seen on either side.” He thought at one time, while sailing on the broad river, that he had found at last the long-sought water route to India, but he, too, was mistaken.

He went home to France, but returned to America in the following year (1535) and sailed up the St. Lawrence to the present site of Montreal. In fact, it was he who gave the place the name *Mont*

In 1535
he reached
the present
site of
Montreal.

Royal, meaning *Royal Mountain*. The winter which Cartier spent in this northern locality on shipboard was a particularly severe one, even for Canada, and the reports which he brought back to France did not encourage colonists to come to the St. Lawrence country in great numbers. A war with Spain also turned the attention of the French away from exploration and colonization for the time. In the summer of 1541, however, the rollicking Cartier again came to the St. Lawrence region and reached the present site of Quebec, where he built a rude fort. No colony was established, however, as Cartier returned to France a few months after his arrival in America. He took home a quantity of rock crystals, which he thought were diamonds.



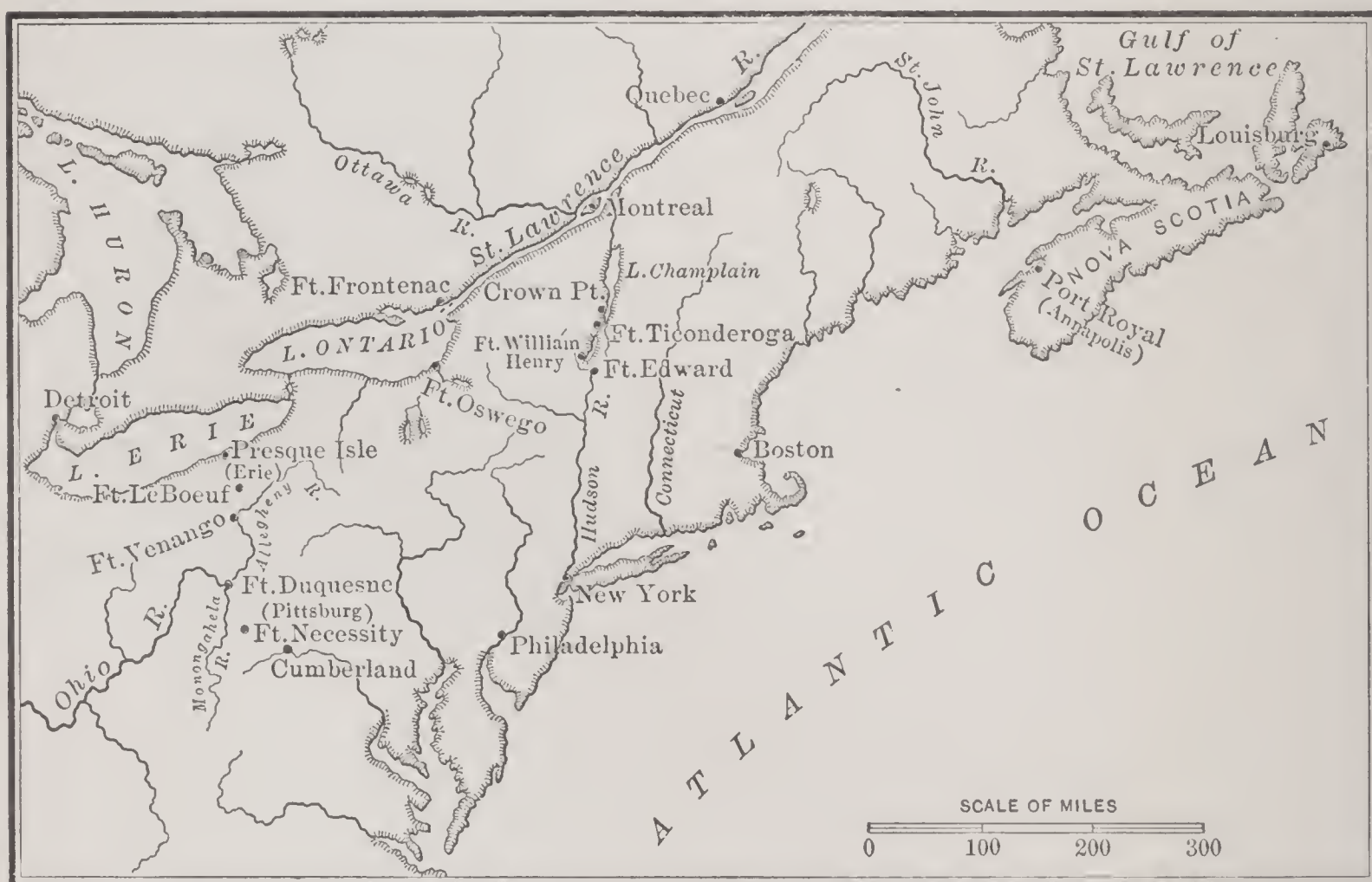
JACQUES CARTIER.

One of the earliest of the French explorers, born 1494; made several voyages to the New World in the service of the King of France. Died, 1555.

120. Coligny and the Huguenots. — The first really serious attempt on the part of the French to found a colony in America was made by the Huguenots under the leadership of Admiral

Coligny. The Huguenots were staunch Protestants and were persecuted for their religion. Because of this persecution Admiral Coligny, an able leader, determined to establish a haven for his people in America. Accordingly in 1562 he sent Jean Ribaut to the new country with a band of emigrants. These colonists avoided the frozen North which Cartier had explored and turned their prows toward the South. On May Day Ribaut came to the St. John's River in Florida and named it the River of May.

The Huguenots established a colony on Port Royal Island, 1562.



FRENCH EXPLORATIONS AND THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, 1524-1763.

He then established a colony on Port Royal Island and named the whole locality Carolina in honor of King Charles of France. The Port Royal colony was weak, however, and soon perished. Only twenty-six were left by Ribaut when he returned to France, and these, or the remnant of them, left for home a year later.

121. Laudonnière establishes Fort Carolina in Florida, 1564. — In 1564 Laudonnière, a companion of Ribaut, came to Port Royal with a small band of followers. They were unable to find Ribaut's colonists, as the latter had sailed for home in a

rude vessel made by their own hands. Leaving the ill-fated Port Royal, Laudonnière's colonists pushed on to the River of May in Florida. On the bank of this stream a fort was built which was named Carolina in honor of the French king, Charles IX. This colony was another weakling. The men were shiftless and dissolute and could not contend successfully against disease, starvation, Indian attacks, and other misfortunes which they were compelled to face. Mutiny sprang up among them and the colony was in a sorry plight.

122. The Spaniards destroyed the French Colony in Florida. — In the meantime the Spaniards were keeping up a very serious thinking. They looked upon the French as intruders and determined to destroy the colony. The Spaniards disliked the French and were particularly bitter toward the Huguenots. In 1565 Menendez came to America, founded St. Augustine, and said that it was his intention to "gibbet and behead all the Protestants in those regions." He immediately set out upon his bloody work and completely exterminated the French colony on the River of May. Several hundred persons are said to have lost their lives in the massacre. The French were in no way prepared to meet the attack. As stated above, the colony was in a sad condition. In fact, the project had been given up as a failure. The French were about to abandon the locality and had traded the heavy guns of Fort Carolina to Sir John Hawkins for one of his vessels. Before they could depart, Menendez appeared and easily captured the defenseless fort. The French were either killed on the spot or thrust into the Spanish dungeons. This was the sad ending of the French colony on the River of May.

123. Sable Island. — Another French attempt at colonization — this time in the far North — met with no better success. In 1598 the Marquis de la Roche established a colony of liberated criminals on Sable Island, off the coast of Nova Scotia. The result was what might have been expected. The unfortunate criminals were not good material for the founding of a colony and were not properly assisted by the mother country. They were

In 1598
Marquis de
la Roche es-
tablished a
colony on
Sable Island.
It failed.

left to shift for themselves and soon became savages on their barren sands. Five years later twelve of the survivors, clad in the skins of animals, were carried back to France. Their story is a weird and horrible one.

124. Samuel de Champlain. — The story of the French attempts at colonization in America during the sixteenth century is a story of dismal failure. In the early part of the following century, however, there was a marked change, and France succeeded in laying the foundations of what promised to be a magnificent empire. There were good reasons, too, for the brilliant successes which followed the list of sorry failures. In the fifteenth century the French people were fighting among themselves. Civil and religious wars had turned their attention away from the exploration of the new continent. But peace came with the dawn of the new century, and the warriors of the former period became the explorers and colonizers of the new.

The founder of New France in America, the greatest of the French explorers and colonizers of this period, was the resolute and dauntless Samuel de Champlain. Champlain, the skillful navigator, bold cavalryman, and daring explorer, was made lieutenant general of Canada, and sailed from France in the spring of 1603. His company ascended the St. Lawrence in their single ship and landed near the present site of Quebec. Six of the men then pushed on in a canoe up the river to Lachine Rapids, nine miles above Montreal. Champlain returned to France in the fall, but came back to America in the following spring and spent three years beating about the coasts of New England and the St. Lawrence region. He made an unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony in Nova Scotia, and returned to France in 1607. In the following year he came again to the New World and founded a settlement, — the first permanent one in Canada, — which he named Quebec from an Indian word meaning “the narrows.” The site was a beautiful one for a post, overlooking as it did the magnificent river and the picturesque

Champlain, the founder of New France, was the greatest of French explorers.

In 1608 he founded Quebec, — the first permanent colony in Canada.

Canadian country. Champlain's practiced eye was also quick to see that the heights about Quebec would be important from a military standpoint.

After Champlain had opened the way the French came in larger numbers. Brave soldiers, daring adventurers, enterprising fur traders and trappers, devoted priests and lawless wood-rangers, pushed into the interior of the continent where the face of a white man had never been seen before. These hardy explorers broke the stillness of the primeval forest with the splash of their canoe paddles and the crack of their guns. Champlain was persevering and for years was the soul of New France. In 1609 he discovered the lake which now bears his name, and by 1615 he had pushed as far west as Lake Huron.

In 1609 he made a very serious mistake, which later aided the English and from which the French suffered severely. He took up the cause of the Algonquin Indians against their deadly foes the Iroquois, and helped to defeat the latter on the shores of Lake Champlain. He won the skirmish, but he also gained the lasting enmity of the powerful Iroquois, who were known and dreaded over a large part of the continent. The hostility of these fierce savages turned the course of the French explorers to the north, and aided the English in their later contest with the French. Instead of going directly up the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes, the French explorers were forced by the Iroquois to bend their course to the north by the Ottawa River and Georgian Bay. Lake Huron was thus the first of the Great Lakes to be discovered; then Ontario, Superior, Michigan, and Erie were found in the order named. The site of Detroit was not discovered until 1669, but a settlement was made there as early as 1701, because the importance of the location was recognized.

He incurs
the hatred
of the
Iroquois
Indians.

The course
of the
French ex-
plorers is
turned to
the north
by the
Iroquois.

Champlain died in 1635, but Jesuits and other French explorers took up his work and enlarged the boundaries of New France. At the time of Champlain's death the dominion of France had been extended as far west as the present state of Wisconsin.

125. Other Explorers.— Other French explorers were not slow to follow in the wake of Champlain. Priests, traders, adventurers, and rangers flocked to the great Northwest. In 1641 some Jesuits said mass in the presence of two thousand naked Indians at Sault Ste. Marie, and in 1673 Father Jacques Marquette and



ROBERT CAVELIER DE LA SALLE.

The resolute and hardy Jesuit explorer was born in France about 1635. After exploring the interior of North America from the present state of Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico, he was treacherously slain in what is now Texas, in 1687.

Joliet, a trader, went down the Wisconsin River to the Mississippi. These were the first white men to set eyes upon the upper course of the great river which De Soto discovered in 1541.

A little later (1679–1682) La Salle, “one of the most brilliant of American explorers,” as well as a man of iron determination, explored the entire Mississippi valley. In 1680 he went as far north as St. Anthony Falls, where Minneapolis now stands, and later (1682) made his way down the river to the Gulf of Mexico. He built a fort which he called St. Louis, and gave the name Louisiana to an indefinite tract of land on the banks of the Mississippi, in honor of King Louis of France.

126. Objects of the French.— It should be noted that the French were not taking possession of the interior of the continent for immediate colonization. They wished to hold the country for future occupation by their countrymen. To this end they established a chain of forts at important points along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi. These forts were centers of activity for the priest and the trader. In order to make their claim to the land more secure the explorers buried plates of lead with inscriptions on them laying claim to the land in the name of the

The French
were taking
land for
future occu-
pation.



MARQUETTE ENTERING THE WISCONSIN RIVER AT PORTAGE.

Father Marquette, one of the most noted French explorers, was born in 1637, and came to Canada in 1666. He was a Jesuit priest and did missionary work among the Indians. In 1674 he built a rude hut where the city of Chicago now stands. Worn out by his faithful work among the Indians, he died in 1675.

king of France. Several of these plates have since been found. New France was thus founded, as has been said, with one end in the canebrakes of Louisiana, the other in the snows of Canada.

It was plain that the French were occupying the territory to the north and west of the English colonies, and were thus preventing the English from extending their sway into the interior. In 1687 Governor Dongan of New York wrote to England as follows, "If the French have all they pretend to have discovered in these parts, the king of England will not have a hundred miles from the sea anywhere." It was also plain that the English would not permit themselves to be cut off from the fertile valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi without a struggle. The clash came in the valley of the Ohio. Both the French and English had entered this valley and both were anxious to retain it.

French and English clash in the Ohio valley.

EARLIER FRENCH WARS

Before following the story of the final contest of the French and English in North America, it will be well to note the several minor wars which took place between them.

127. King William's War, 1689-1697. —When King William III came to the throne of England in 1689, a war broke out between France and England which is known in history as King William's War. The war spread to America, and soon New France and New England were fighting the battles of the mother countries. In 1690 a company of New England men, under the command of Sir William Phips, captured Port Royal —now Annapolis— in Nova Scotia. Quebec was threatened, but was not taken, and a kind of guerrilla warfare was waged along the New York and New England border. The contest was an indecisive one, although New England had about one hundred thousand people and New France but twelve thousand. The French, as usual, had the assistance of the Indians, and their governor, Frontenac, was able and active. The war came to an end with the

No territory was gained or lost in King William's War.

treaty of Ryswick in 1697, whereby each nation received back the territory which it had lost during the war. The thrilling story of the French and English wars in the wilderness is well told by the American historian, Francis Parkman.

128. Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713. — The next war between the French and English in America broke out when Queen Anne came to the throne in 1702. This war is known in America as Queen Anne's War, and in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession, because an attempt was made to place a French prince on the Spanish throne. There was very little real fighting done and not much open warfare. Port Royal was again taken, and again an effort to take Quebec failed. Again the French and the Indians ravaged the New England frontier. The torch was applied to the settler's cabin, and the scalping knife and the tomahawk were doing their deadly work. Finally the peace of Utrecht put an end to the war in 1713. The English gained important territory in this war. The French gave up Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay country. The English changed the name of Acadia to Nova Scotia, and Port Royal was named Annapolis in honor of Queen Anne.

129. King George's War, 1744-1748. — The land had rest for thirty years after the peace of Utrecht in 1713. In the reign of King George II of England, however, hostilities were renewed in a war known as King George's War. The most important and picturesque event in this war was the capture by the English, or rather by the New England colonists, of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island in 1745. In that year four thousand of the young men of the colonies moved against the Canadian stronghold and after a brilliant siege of six weeks succeeded in taking the fortress. The fall of Louisburg was greeted with shouts of joy both in England and in America, but when the war came to a close with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, Louisburg was given back to the French. The return of this fortress did much to turn the colonies away from the mother country.



THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

1754-1763

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle simply afforded a breathing spell for the two contending nations. It was plain that the war would soon go on and would continue until either France or England was supreme in North America.

130. The Ohio Valley. — During the sixty years of these intercolonial wars the French priests and traders were busy, and the English explorers were not idle. The advance guards of each nation had penetrated into the valley of the Ohio and were destined to clash at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, where the city of Pittsburg now stands. The French had taken possession of this locality and had buried leaden plates bearing the royal arms of France to indicate that fact. The Ohio Company also claimed the region and was authorized to use force, if necessary, to drive out the French. Both nations were making ready for the conflict which every one saw was destined to come.

The French and English obtain possessions in the Ohio valley.

131. Claims. — Perhaps it might be well to note at this time the extent of the claims of the English and French. The English had actual possession of the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Florida and had recently penetrated into the valley of the Ohio. The French, on the other hand, claimed all of the land drained by the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the Missouri, and their tributaries, as well as that surrounding the Great Lakes. The French claims thus extended from the Alleghanies on the east to the Rockies on the west and from Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. A line of posts had been strung along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi in such a way as to confine the English to the eastern part of the continent. It was plain that the enterprising Englishman would not submit to such an imprisonment. He loved exploration and conquest

and delighted in pushing his way into the interior with gun, ax, and canoe.

In the meantime the French were not depending upon their leaden plates alone to hold the valley of the Ohio, but were busy in increasing the number of their posts. In 1752 they began to string a line of forts from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. A log fort of rude construction was made at Presque Isle, where the city of Erie now stands. Forts Le Bœuf and Venango were also erected in western Pennsylvania on the present sites of Waterford and Franklin.

132. Governor Dinwiddie warns the French not to intrude on English Territory. — This activity on the part of the French aroused Robert Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia. Dinwiddie was a leader among the English colonists. He was a Scotchman of rugged honesty and of good ability. He was, moreover, intensely interested in the movements of the French for two reasons. In the first place, the Virginians claimed the Ohio valley because their charter of 1609 gave them all the land "from sea to sea, west and northwest." In the second place, Dinwiddie was a member of the Ohio Company, to whom the king had given five hundred thousand acres of land in the Ohio valley. For these reasons the governor was the first to act on the part of the English.

133. George Washington carries Dinwiddie's Message to the French. — The action of Governor Dinwiddie introduces us to George Washington, the foremost character in American history. Washington was born in Virginia on February 22, 1732, and at the age of sixteen was employed to make a survey of the estates of Lord Fairfax lying beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains. He was engaged in this work for three years and gained a valuable experience. He built up a rugged physical constitution and became familiar with the geography of the country and with the manners, customs, and the feelings of the people, both white and red. Upon finishing his task in 1751 he became one of the adjutant generals of the Virginia militia, at the age of nineteen.

It was this rugged young Virginian whom Governor Din-

widdie called to his assistance against the French. In the fall of 1753 the governor decided to warn them that they were encroaching on English territory and to ask them to withdraw. He chose Washington to carry the message. On the very day upon which he received his instructions the young surveyor set out on his perilous journey. For weeks he pushed on with his little band of white men and a few Indians as guides, over mountains, through forests, and across rivers filled with floating ice. He finally found St. Pierre, the commander of the French, at Fort Le Bœuf, and there delivered to him the letter of Governor Dinwiddie. After receiving the reply of the French commander he set out for home. While crossing the swift Monongahela on a shaky raft of rude construction, he narrowly missed going to the bottom; and on another occasion he barely escaped death at the hands of hostile Indians. He finally arrived at Williamsburg, Virginia, in midwinter of 1754, after an absence of nearly three months and a journey of seven hundred and fifty miles.

Washington's trip into the interior is a picturesque incident in American history, but the reply which he brought from St. Pierre was an unsatisfactory one, as had been expected. The French paid no attention to the warnings and demands of the English. They had no intention of turning their backs upon the fertile valley of the Ohio. On the contrary, they pushed on to the south, to the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, drove out the English from the place, and built Fort Duquesne where the

Washington's journey is one of dangers and hardships.



WASHINGTON'S POCKET CASE, USED ON HIS SURVEYING TRIPS.

At seventeen Washington was one of the most skillful and accurate surveyors in Virginia, and at eighteen he was appointed public surveyor. In the practice of his profession he obtained a good knowledge of the interior of the country and of the Indians. This knowledge was afterward of great value to him.

city of Pittsburg now stands. This occurred in the spring of 1754. The war had really commenced, although it was not formally declared until 1756.

Before taking up the story of the war it will be well to note briefly the conditions under which the contest was begun. A review of these conditions will show that the English had the advantage in most respects.

134. England seemed Stronger than France in 1754. — In 1754 France and England were the leading nations of the world. France claimed to be the strongest power in Europe, and her claim was not an idle boast. She had a large and well-disciplined army; yet the power of England was constantly increasing, and she was particularly strong on the sea.

For the first few years the mother countries took no direct part in the war. It was carried on, for the most part, by the French and English colonists in America. Here the English had the advantage in numbers, as there were one million one hundred thousand English colonists and only eighty thousand French.

In the matter of government the English colonists also had an advantage. New France, on the whole, had not been well governed. Some few of the governors, like Champlain and Frontenac, were good and able men, but under the rule of many of the governors there was much dishonesty in office.

The govern-
ment of
Britain was
better than
that of
France.

Then again, the English colonists had a large measure of self-government, while the French had practically none. They had no voice in the selection of their officers, but were governed directly from Paris. This latter fact was an aid to the French in one respect. While the English colonists found it difficult to raise volunteer troops, the French commanders could practically force the whole male population of military age into the army. However, the lack of self-government and compulsion from without took away some of the enthusiasm and patriotism from the French troops.

135. The Albany Congress, 1754. — In September, 1753, about



PHILADELPHIA, ABOUT 1754.

Philadelphia at this time and long afterwards was the largest city in the country. The spire on the left is that of the old Pennsylvania Statehouse, now called Independence Hall. This picture is from an old print which shows the eastern side of the city from the Delaware River.

the time that Washington was preparing to set out on his errand to the French, and when war between France and England seemed certain, the English government instructed the colonial governors to send commissioners or delegates to meet in a congress at Albany. The objects of the meeting were to make a treaty with the Iroquois Indians and to adopt a plan of union for the colonies.

In June, 1754, about two months after the English had been dislodged from the present site of Pittsburg, delegates from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland met at Albany. They made a treaty with the Indians and declared that a union of the colonies was "absolutely necessary for their security and defense." Franklin submitted a plan of union, but it was not adopted for reasons which have already been explained (§ 115).

This congress was held to unite the colonies.

136. Washington's Expedition. — Washington returned from his famous mission to the French at Fort Le Bœuf in January, 1754. The reply which he brought from St. Pierre made it plain to Governor Dinwiddie that the time had come to put an army in the field. Preparations were made at once to that end. The legislature of Virginia made an appropriation for the support of the troops, and in March Washington, at the head of seventy-five men, set out for the headwaters of the Ohio. While on his way, and at the present site of Cumberland, Maryland, information came to him that the English had been driven out and that the French were constructing a fort where the Alleghany and Monongahela join to form the Ohio. This information caused Washington to change his plans. Instead of pushing on to Fort Duquesne he built a breast-work which he very appropriately called Fort Necessity. While he was thus engaged, the French appeared, and Washington gave battle, taking them by surprise. It was soon over. The French party numbered thirty-two men. Ten of these were killed and twenty-one were captured, leaving one lone survivor to tell the tale to his people. This was the first

Washington defeats the French near Fort Necessity.

bloodshed of the contest known in America as the French and Indian War, and in Europe as the Seven Years' War.

Washington then took up the work again on Fort Necessity, and on July 3 the French appeared and demanded a surrender.

Washington declined, and the fighting went on all day. At night his men were hungry and tired, their ammunition gone, and their guns made useless, in many cases, by the rain. They were also outnumbered four to one. The English surrendered, but were allowed to march away with their arms. This ended Washington's first campaign.

137. General Braddock comes to America, 1755. — In the following year, 1755, the English took the aggressive, while the French determined to fight on the defensive. Major General Edward Braddock came over from England to be commander-in-chief of the forces in America. Braddock was an able man and a brave soldier, but he knew nothing of the conditions and methods of frontier warfare. His military tactics which had been so successful on European battlefields failed utterly in the forests of North America.

It was difficult to plan a campaign against New France. The domains of the French were surrounded by dense forests through which it was not easy for an army to hew its way. Nature had left three great openings, however, and the English planned to make use of them. They determined to send one army into New France by way of Lake George, Lake Champlain, and the St. Lawrence River. Another was to ascend the Hudson and the Mohawk rivers, and pass along the southern shore of Lake Ontario to the Niagara River. The third was to ascend the Potomac to Will's Creek (later named Fort Cumberland) and then cut its way across the country to Fort Duquesne.

138. Braddock defeated July 9, 1755. — General Braddock took command in person of this third expedition. He started in the spring of 1755, and after a tiresome march of twenty-seven days reached Fort Cumberland in May. After drilling the colonial

He surren-
dered Fort
Necessity,
July 3, 1754.

The British
planned to
send three
expeditions
against the
French.

troops at this place for a time he set out on his march of one hundred and thirty miles through primeval forests to Fort Duquesne. The journey was an exceedingly difficult one. Much time was spent in felling trees, making bridges, and constructing roads over quagmires for the passage of the army. The progress was slow, the army making on an average only a little more than three miles a day.

General Braddock led the forces over a very difficult course, taking almost no advantage of the natural waterways. Washington, who knew the country well, was a member of the company, but his advice in regard to the route was rarely sought by the headstrong commander. Finally, on the 9th of July, Braddock reached a point on the Monongahela River only eight or ten miles from the fort which he intended to attack. On this spot, still called Braddock's field, and now dotted with factories and furnaces, there occurred one of the most pitiable massacres in all our colonial history. While Braddock was making his painful progress toward the fort, he was watched by the scouts sent out by the French, while he himself sent out no scouts at all.

In the meantime there was dismay within the walls of Fort Duquesne. The French commander felt that he could not hold out against Braddock's force of fifteen hundred men and was about ready to abandon the fort. Finally a reckless adventurer, Beaujeu by name, proposed that a trap be set for the English in a ravine through which their course would lead them. This was done. The rest is soon told. The French and Indians, hiding behind trees and hilltops, poured a deadly fire into the ranks of the English as they marched along in regular order. For two or three hours on a hot July day the English regulars and the colonial militia faced the fire, returning it as well as they could, while the forests and hills echoed with the war whoops of the savages. Braddock had forbidden his men to break ranks and to seek the shelter of the trees; consequently there was little for them to do but to furnish a mark for the enemy to shoot at. "We would fight," they said, "if we could see anybody to fight with."

The English
are led into
ambush
and
slaughtered.

Both the regulars and the militia displayed the highest bravery. Two horses were shot under Washington, and four bullets pierced his coat. Braddock, too, fought well, if not wisely. He lost five horses in the fray, was wounded, died two days after the battle, and was buried near by. It was Washington who placed him in his forest grave and read over his silent form the beautiful burial service of the Church of England. The day was utterly lost. About eight hundred of the English were killed or wounded, while the enemy had about sixty killed and wounded out of a force of more than eight hundred men.

139. Acadians were Removed from Nova Scotia, 1755. — Only two months after the defeat of Braddock the deportation of the inhabitants of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, began. The story of this simple people is a sad one, and Longfellow in his "Evangeline" has not exaggerated very greatly the wrongs which they suffered.

It will be remembered that the French province of Acadia was surrendered to England by the peace of Utrecht in 1713. A treaty of peace, however, cannot change the nationality or the feelings of a people, and the Acadians in their hearts remained loyal to France and to the Catholic religion. This incensed their English masters. The poor people were governed in an oppressive and tyrannical manner, and finally they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the English king. Later, when they were ready to do so, the English declined to permit them. It was decreed by the British that the Acadians should be forced, as a war measure, to leave their native land. This decree was carried into effect with unnecessary harshness and severity. About seven thousand of them were seized and scattered along the Atlantic coast from Canada to Louisiana, to get on as well

Harsh
measures
were used
by the
English.

as they could. The emigration began in September, and was not completed until the following December. It cannot be justly claimed that the Acadians were wholly loyal to Great Britain, and their deportation may possibly be justified as a war measure, but there can be no excuse whatever for the severity with which the orders of the government were carried out.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756-1763

140. England formally declares War, 1756. — All of this fighting occurred without a declaration of war, but on May 18, 1756, England formally declared war against France. The Seven Years' War which ensued was a terrible contest in which France, Russia, and Austria fought against Prussia and England. William Pitt of England, one of the greatest statesmen in the history of the world, and Frederick the Great of Prussia, one of the world's greatest warriors, did much to bring about the success of England and Prussia. The result was that England drove France out of India and America, and that Prussia got a firm hold in Europe.

The French and Indian War in America was a part of the Seven Years' War in Europe.

1756

After the formal declaration of war the English apparently made preparations to carry on the contest with more vigor. In June, 1756, General Abercrombie came over from England, and General Loudon followed in July. Still, nothing of importance was done. The French were more alert. Montcalm, an able commander "of the old sound stock," had reached Quebec in May, and was not slow to take advantage of the inactivity of the English generals. He strengthened the French forts, captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, and later withdrew in safety behind the walls of Fort Ticonderoga, near the southern extremity of Lake Champlain.

It was impossible to carry on the war in the regular way during the winter months on account of the severe northern climate and the almost impassable forest tangles, yet hostilities did not entirely cease. Small companies of men on skates and snowshoes traversed the frozen waterways, and ranged through the forests, defying the wintry blasts for the purpose of striking the enemy an unexpected blow. Nothing decisive, however, could be accomplished in this way.

The war in winter.

1757

In the following year Montcalm was again active. He sang the war songs and attended the war feasts of the neighboring Indians and enlisted many of them under the banner of the French. By the middle of the summer he had gathered at Ticonderoga a formidable force of six thousand Frenchmen and Canadians and two thousand Indians.

141. The Indian Massacre at Fort William Henry. — On the 1st of August this lawless and bloodthirsty band bore down upon the English at Fort William Henry, on the southern extremity of Lake George. The fort was taken after a stubborn resistance of five days. Three hundred of the Englishmen were killed, many more were wounded, and an epidemic of smallpox broke out in their midst. Nothing remained but surrender. Montcalm was a generous victor and allowed the English to march out of the fort with all the honors of war. The Indians, however, were not so honorable. After having promised Mont-



WILLIAM PITT.

First Earl of Chatham. He was a steadfast friend of the American colonies and constantly opposed oppressive measures against them. Born in 1708, died in 1778.

calm that they would live up to the conditions of the surrender, they fell upon the English unexpectedly at dawn of the following day and massacred them in large numbers. In spite of the threats and entreaties of Montcalm, seventy men were killed — even the sick and wounded in the hospitals did not escape — and about two hundred were taken captive. The torch completed the scene of destruction. The fort was burned and the bodies of the dead were cremated.

142. William Pitt guides the War for the English. — The military record for the year 1757 is a dismal one for the English, but preparations were being made which brought better things to pass in the two following years. The most important event occurred in June, 1757. William Pitt, the Great Commoner, as

he was then called, obtained control of the government of England, and his great power at once made itself felt. He planned to reduce the French by striking them at Louisburg, Quebec, and Fort Duquesne. There was nothing new in this plan of campaign, but he saw to it that men of action and wisdom were chosen to conduct the war in America. The leadership was placed in the hands of Amherst, Forbes, Howe, and Wolfe. Amherst was wise and prudent; Forbes was the "man of iron," a tried and successful soldier; Howe was a manly, able, and lovable character; and Wolfe was the greatest of them all — a man who had distinguished himself on many battlefields, although now but thirty years of age. Evidently greater successes were in store for the English army.

1758

143. Louisburg Falls. — On the 7th of June, 1758, an English fleet under Boscawen carrying ten thousand men under the command of Amherst and Wolfe appeared before Louisburg. The English were met with a galling fire, but the gallant Wolfe, wading through the shallow water in order to land quickly, led his men in a spirited attack on the fortifications. The place was taken, and as a result 5637 prisoners were sent to England.

144. Abercrombie is repulsed by Montcalm at Ticonderoga. — While Wolfe and Amherst were taking Louisburg, another English force under Abercrombie and Howe marched on Ticonderoga. Abercrombie, known among the colonists as "Nabbiecrombie," was a timid and faltering leader, while Howe, "the mirror of military virtue," was the real leader of the expedition. Howe was killed in a skirmish with some French stragglers, and the English army under Abercrombie was defeated with terrible slaughter by Montcalm with a force not one fourth as large. The English fought bravely, but were poorly commanded. "A braver or more stupid conflict," says Professor Sloane, "is not recorded on the page of history." When the

retreat was ordered, two thousand Englishmen were left dead before the walls of the stronghold. Abercrombie returned to England and took a seat in Parliament.

145. Washington and Armstrong capture Fort Duquesne. — In November George Washington and John Armstrong bore down upon the French at Fort Duquesne. When they reached the place, they found nothing but smoking ruins. The French, despairing of holding the fort, had set fire to the place and had



JAMES WOLFE.

The Conqueror of Quebec was born in England in 1726, and was a noted soldier at the age of twenty. He fell at Quebec in 1759.

for the year with wonderful skill. Amherst was made commander-in-chief, although Wolfe stands out most prominently in the operations of 1759. It was he who took Quebec after a brilliant attack and thus virtually ended the war. The story is a thrilling one. Wolfe was frail of body but wonderfully alert of mind. He saw that a crisis was coming. It was his greatest wish, he said, "to be without pain for a few days and able to do his duty." His task was a difficult one. Quebec

departed on the day before the arrival of the English. The English flag was hoisted, and a day of thanksgiving was observed. A little later the company went out to Braddock's ill-fated field and buried the whitening skeletons of the victims of three years before. A small garrison was left at the place and the name of Fort Duquesne was changed to Pittsburg in honor of England's greatest statesman.

146. Wolfe captures Quebec, 1759. — The English were fast pushing on to the crowning glory at Quebec. Pitt mapped out the campaign

was the strongest fortified place on the American continent and was defended, moreover, by the gallant Montcalm at the head of a fine body of men. It was located on a high eminence far above the river and was thus very difficult to reach. But the shrewd and dashing Wolfe determined to lead his men under cover of the darkness up a steep winding and narrow path to the plains above. It was a perilous undertaking, and Wolfe felt the seriousness of the attempt.

At two in the morning the signal was given for the army to move. The men crept noiselessly up the steep bank of the river, being compelled to drop on their hands and knees where the hill was almost perpendicular. But they reached the top, and at dawn on the 13th of September Wolfe with his five thousand men was in possession of the now historic Plains of Abraham. Montcalm was completely surprised and saw at once that he must either fight or surrender. He was not the kind of man to surrender unless compelled to do so; hence he gave battle. In the terrible conflict which followed, the gallant Wolfe was wounded twice, and a third time fatally. He was carried to the rear, refused surgical assistance, and died giving his commands to the army.

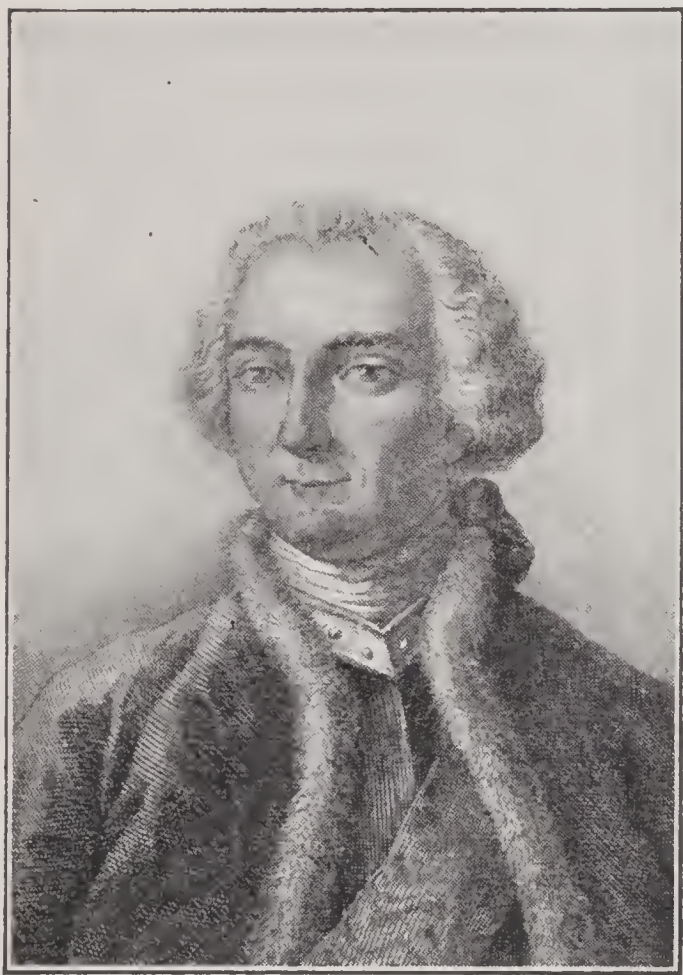
Montcalm also fell fighting bravely. He was wounded but did not withdraw, and while rallying his troops was struck by the fatal bullet. He died on the day after the battle and was buried in a convent chapel in the city which he defended so well. It is said that his grave was made for the most part by the bursting of a shell during the bombardment. In the governor's garden at Quebec there is a fitting memorial to the two brave men. A monument bears the name of Wolfe on one side and that of Montcalm on the other, with the inscription: "Valor gave a united death, History a united fame, Posterity a united monument."

Wolfe had won the day. Quebec fell on the 18th of September, and the fate of the French was practically sealed. New France
is no more.

On the 8th of September of the following year Montreal fell.

New France was no more, and the English were supreme on the continent of North America.

147. The Treaty of Paris, 1763. — The war went on in Europe



LOUIS JOSEPH MONTCALM.

The brave "Defender of Quebec" was born in France in 1712, and entered the French army at fourteen. In Canada he displayed "skill, courage, and humanity." He said that he would conquer the English or "find his grave under the ruins of the colony." He fell defending the flag of his country in 1759.

for three years longer, and a treaty of peace was not made until 1763. By this treaty, France surrendered to Great Britain all of her possessions on the continent east of the Mississippi River except New Orleans. All of Canada and the eastern half of the great Mississippi valley thus fell into the hands of the British. France was permitted to retain the West Indies and two

The treaty makes Great Britain supreme in North America.

small islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, for fishing purposes. Spain, which had been drawn

into the war as an ally of France, surrendered Florida to England and received Louisiana from France in return. The treaty was concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. It marked the close of the struggle between

France and Great Britain which had been going on for three quarters of a century for possession of North America.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1603. Champlain sailed up the St. Lawrence River.
- 1608. Champlain founded Quebec.
- 1754-1763. The French and Indian War.
- 1754. The Albany Congress.
- 1755. Braddock's defeat.
- 1759. Quebec fell.
- 1763. Great Britain supreme in North America.

CHAPTER IX

THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

148. Great Britain triumphs over France. — The treaty of 1763 marks the close of a long struggle, nearly three quarters of a century of conflict, between Great Britain and France for territory in America. France had lost, Great Britain had won. A little over half a century before it seemed that the power of France would be triumphant, and her influence dominant in America. By 1690, besides their well-grounded hopes of empire in India and their power in Cayenne, the French had in North America, Canada, Acadia (Nova Scotia), Cape Breton Island, the fishing banks of Newfoundland, the mouth of the Mississippi, and inland Louisiana. They “held North America by its two ends, the mouths of its two great rivers.” But by the Seven Years’ War France lost her merchant and military marine and her hope of control in India; and in America she gave up Canada to Britain and Louisiana to Spain and retired from the continent. France ceased forever to be an American power.

The power of Great Britain was wonderfully advanced by this famous war. Besides her empire in India she gained Canada from France, and Florida from Spain, and thus became the owner of all North America west to the Mississippi River. France had now been removed from the north side of the colonies and Spain from their south side, and the colonists “were no longer between the upper and the nether millstone.” Could England now provide for the peaceful government of these colonies, the growth of their trade, and their inevitable expansion toward the west? Thus we see that the Seven Years’ War was a world war, and

as the result of it England had to face the problem of governing a world empire.

149. British Government. — She had to do this at a time when her government was corrupt and when a stupid and obstinate king was coming to the throne who would no longer trust great ministers to rule. The cause of the American Revolution lay in England as well as in America, and one of its principal causes was George III. George's grandfather, George II (1727–1760), had complained that England was a country in which “the minister was the king.” George III's mother said to him when he came to the throne, “George, be king!” She meant for him to take the government into his own hands. George III tried to follow this foolish advice.

The govern-
ment corrupt
and the
king obsti-
nate.

He did not attempt to govern without Parliament, by having a standing army and levying taxes without the consent of the people's representatives, as the Stuart kings had done; but he attempted to control these representatives. He would not choose for his ministers the great men of the realm, like Pitt and Fox and Burke. He set about systematically to get a body of supporters in Parliament who came to be known as the “King's friends,” and who could control enough votes in that body to do what the king wanted. George was able to do this by bribes and threats, titles and appointments, and by royal attentions and favors which were then, even more than now, powerful social forces in controlling public men. Thus the king managed Parliament by a kind of bribery.

The king
tried to con-
trol Parlia-
ment.

Members of Parliament did not represent the people. In America the representatives, who taxed and governed, represented a body of people who lived in certain definite local areas, in towns and counties. In England representation was of interests and classes, not of districts of people, and many of the populous manufacturing cities in north and central England that had grown up in recent years had no representation at all in Parliament, while

The common
people had
no influence
in Parlia-
ment.



little "rotten boroughs," like Gatton and "Old Sarum," consisting only of a green mound and a ruined wall, still had members of Parliament merely because they had had them long ago. Thus we see that Great Britain was facing new colonial problems with a stupid and wrong-headed king and a deformed and corrupt legislature. It was a situation calculated to promote bad policies and trouble with the colonies.

150. British Debts and Expenses. — Great Britain had been at great expense in the late war. Her debt had more than doubled. Her expenses in America for colonial government were now to be nearly five times what they had been before the war. It was thought to be necessary to send soldiers and ships to America to prevent France from attempting to recover what she had lost, and to protect the colonists from the dangerous Indians upon the frontier. No part of the British Empire had received more benefit from the Seven Years' War than America, and it was thought that it was now only reasonable and fair that the colonies should help bear some of the burden of their protection and support. The Indians had gotten on better with the French than with the English, and they were not ready to submit to Pontiac's English rule. Pontiac's Conspiracy which led to a War, 1763. great Indian war lasting for fourteen months, resulting in the massacre of hundreds of families on the frontier and the burning of their homes, seemed to show the need for protection by English soldiers.

In this situation, when Lord Grenville came into power, under George III, in 1763, he found the landlords seeking to shift some of the burdens of increasing taxation on to the colonies, and the commercial classes trying more fully to monopolize the colonial trade. Under the influence of these two classes Grenville, who was not much of a statesman, instituted a new colonial policy. He determined upon three measures which a great English historian says produced the American Revolution : —

1. To enforce the trade laws.
2. To quarter in America a part of the British army.

3. To raise by Parliamentary taxation a part of the money necessary for the army's support.

151. The Trade Laws. — For more than a hundred years before the quarrel with the mother country began, Parliament had, from time to time, passed "navigation acts," to regulate colonial trade. The purpose of these laws was to secure for British subjects a monopoly of this trade. They were more liberal and more favorable to the colonies than those of other nations, but in many ways they restricted colonial trade. The British were seeking to beat the Dutch and the French in trade, and they wanted colonies as a market for British merchandise and as a place from which needed supplies could be obtained.

Great Britain wished to carry her own goods over the sea and to increase the number of her ships and sailors. So the first Navigation Act, passed in 1660, provided that no goods should be imported into the colonies except in British, or colonial, vessels manned by British seamen. Colonial manufactures were to be suppressed. New England timber could not be freely exchanged for the molasses and sugar from the French West Indies. Only British subjects and vessels could trade with the colonies, and the Americans had to sell all their exports in British ports, and all goods brought from Europe had first to be landed in Great Britain. All this added to the profits of British merchants, sometimes at the expense of American merchants.

Great Britain wished to use the colonies as a source of revenue.

Now these restrictive trade laws had not been carefully enforced. Colonial merchants, especially those in New England, had evaded them. John Adams said they had ceased to be used, and their enforcement was no longer expected. Much smuggling was indulged in. It was the attempt to prevent this evasion of the trade duties that had led to the celebrated "Writs of Assistance" in 1761. British customhouse officers applied to the courts for writs authorizing them to search merchants' stores and houses for smuggled goods. These writs, legal and proper under some

The trade laws had not been enforced.

circumstances, might be used as a means of annoyance and injustice. They could be transferred by one person to another, and report was not bound to be made to the court to show how they had been used and what houses had been searched. James Otis, an eloquent young lawyer in Massachusetts, resigned as state's attorney to speak, without fee, against these writs; and John Adams, who heard Otis's famous speech in 1761, said that Otis was "like a flame of fire," and that "then and there American independence was born."

Otis opposed the "Writs of Assistance."

The British ministry now proposed strictly to enforce these laws. It had been costing three dollars to collect one dollar of British revenue at American ports. Revenue officers who had been living in England, drawing their pay and neglecting their duties, were ordered to their posts, or naval officers were appointed in their stead.

The British try to enforce the trade laws.

The governors were urged to suppress smuggling, and ships were stationed on the American coasts for this purpose. American ships and goods were seized, and offenders were tried in naval courts, without a jury. It is quite clear that if these hard trade laws were to be rigidly enforced the Americans would find it to their interest to do without British protection, as they were now able to do since the French had been driven from Canada.

152. The Quartering Policy. — The colonists had a dread of a standing army. They had not liked the king's troops in

The Americans felt able to protect themselves and objected to providing for British troops.

England, and their fathers had opposed the Stuart kings in the seventeenth century for quartering soldiers on them. They liked militia better than regulars, and they felt that they had always readily responded with their own militia in time of danger. Now that there was less danger than before, the Americans felt able to protect themselves. They believed that the purpose of bringing troops to America was to strengthen the royal authority and prevent the violation of the revenue laws. They did not want to pay for the support of these soldiers, and they took the ground that soldiers could

be stationed among them only by the consent of their colonial assemblies. With the Annual Mutiny Act of 1765, to provide for the control and discipline of the army, Parliament passed a Quartering Act, to provide for the accommodation of the larger number of soldiers to be sent to America. New York refused to furnish barracks for these troops, and Parliament suspended the New York Assembly (1767) until it would make amends. The British rulers ought to have seen that if they persisted in this policy it would surely lead to a serious quarrel.

153. The Taxing Policy; the Stamp Act, 1765. — To get money for his troops and to enforce his laws the king or his minister proposed an entirely new scheme of taxation. In an almost empty Parliament where there was very little interest in the matter, a law was passed which in its consequences “must be deemed one of the most momentous legislative acts in the history of mankind.” This was the famous, or infamous, Stamp Act, levying duties on legal documents, wills, licenses, newspapers, pamphlets, etc. The proceeds of the tax were to go toward paying England’s expenses in governing America, which were now about \$1,700,000 a year; and it was thought the Stamp Act would produce about \$500,000, or nearly one third of this amount. Offenses against the act were to be tried in admiralty courts, without a jury.

The old system of getting money for the king’s wars or his colonial government was by “requisitions”; that is, the king, through his royal governor, asked each colony for the money, stating the purpose of his request; and the colonial assemblies, in which the people were represented, levied the tax if they chose to do so. Grenville did not believe that all the colonies would furnish money in this way, and it is pretty certain that they would not have done so. They did not like the purpose for which the money was wanted. Grenville believed the stamp tax was as easy as any (as it probably was), and he gave the colonies a year in which to agree upon a better taxing measure, or one more to their liking; but he gave notice that the tax must be provided for, or Parliament would assess it.

A storm of protest arose among the Americans against this enforced taxation by a legislature in which they were not represented. When the stamp officers were announced, riots occurred.

The Americans protest against the Stamp Act.

The "Sons of Liberty" marched through the streets shouting, "Liberty, property, and no stamps;" they compelled the stamp officers to resign, and pulled down an image of the king; the people agreed not to import English goods, and they destroyed the stamps, so that when the time came to enforce the act (November 1, 1765), in many colonies there were no stamps to be had.

The Americans did not wish to be represented in Parliament, for they would be in a small minority there, and that would not save them from the tax. Nor was it merely paying they objected to, for they had always been ready to pay a fair share for their own support and defense and to raise troops and fight against the enemies of Great Britain. They were even willing,

They object to all internal taxes.

for the sake of the whole empire, to submit to a reasonable *external* tariff tax on imports. They held that a domestic *internal* tax like the stamp tax, whose purpose was *not to regulate trade but to get revenue*, and to make taxes lighter in England, — that such a tax could be levied only by their colonial assemblies. They resolved to resist this tax and not to give up the right to tax themselves, which was a right of Englishmen as old as Magna Charta. In doing this they only stood by English principles and examples. The principle that taxation and representation are not to be separated and that no people should be taxed except by themselves or their representatives, "lay at the very root of the English idea of liberty." The English people had asserted this principle time and again — in Magna Charta (1215), in the Petition of Right (1628), and in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688.

154. Patrick Henry stirred the House of Burgesses. — Virginia sounded the first note of alarm, and sent forth the first public reassertion of this old English doctrine on taxation, destined to be proclaimed and fought for again in the American Revo-

lution. Patrick Henry, the greatest orator of the Revolution, offered a set of resolutions in the Burgesses (May 29, 1765). Henry was a bold and radical advocate of liberty. His resolutions against the Stamp Act asserted that self-taxation was "the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, that the Assembly of Virginia alone had the right to tax Virginians, and that any attempt to vest this power in any other body tended to destroy British as well as American freedom." One of the old traditions of the Revolution relates that Henry in defending these resolutions, at the climax of an eloquent passage exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III —" ("Treason! Treason!" shouted several members) "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it." Such was the fiery spirit of Patrick Henry.

155. The Stamp Act Congress, 1765. — The colonies now began to unite. Their leading men began to correspond with one another. Massachusetts took the lead in calling a congress of the colonies. This was done by a circular letter sent out to the colonial assemblies. South Carolina was first to respond. Nine states — Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina — sent delegates to the "Stamp Act Congress," or meeting, in New York (October, 1765), to consult together about their circumstances, to represent dutifully their condition to the home government, and to implore relief from the tax measures of Parliament. Here were the seeds of union, the first example of final combination among the colonies.

This congress could not pass a law nor act like a government in any way. It merely *spoke* for the colonies, recommended them to have agents in London, petitioned the king and the Commons, and published a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances." This was a very able state paper. It was written by John Dickinson, and it sums up well the rights of the colonies. It said the colonists owed allegiance to Great Britain, but they had the same rights as Englishmen at home; that no taxes ever had been, or could be, right-

The colonies
unite and
announce
their principles,
1765.

fully imposed upon them except by their own legislatures in which they were represented; that they could not be represented in Parliament; that supplies to the king were gifts of the people, and that it was unconstitutional for the people of Great Britain to grant to the king the property of the colonists; that trial by jury was an old and precious right; that there was a difference between legislation and taxation; that while Parliament might make new laws or pass acts to regulate the trade of the whole empire, *taxes* were always to be consented to by the representatives of the people who paid them.

156. Able English Statesmen sided with the Colonists. — These principles were accepted in Great Britain as firmly as in America. The English people did not mean to oppress the Americans or deprive them of their rights. We ought not to think of this quarrel over taxes and the rights of the colonies as being between the English people on one side and the Americans on the other. It was rather between two *parties*, the *Tories* in England and America, on one side, and the *Whigs* in both countries, on the other. Pitt and Burke and Fox and Barré and Camden, the ablest statesmen of England, were on the American side. Pitt (Lord Chatham) said he rejoiced that America had resisted, and he spoke boldly for the same principle of taxation as that advocated in America by Hancock, Adams, Henry, and Otis. He said Parliament had no right to tax America. It had a right, he said, to legislate for the Americans and “to bind them in all cases whatsoever, except to take their money out of their pockets without their consent.” Burke did not think so much of the right of taxation, but he pleaded for the old *practice* (of requisitions), which, he said, had worked well. He thought it was *unwise* to tax the Americans, as it would cause disturbances and ill feeling.

157. Stamp Act repealed, 1766. — In spite of the arguments of the government and the wish of the king, Grenville had to give way. Rockingham became minister, and the Stamp Act was repealed the year after it was passed (1766). It was seen that it could not be enforced without great expense and perhaps

bloodshed. The British merchants found their goods were not selling so well in America, and they urged Parliament to repeal the act. With the repeal Parliament passed a *Declaratory Act*, without opposition, asserting the *right* to tax America.

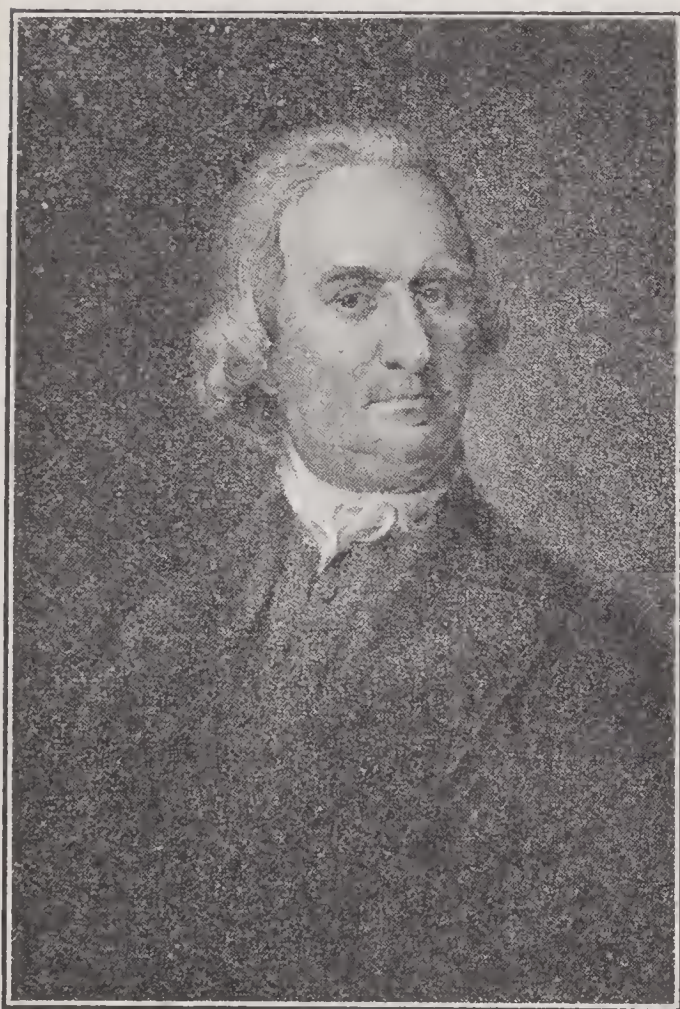
The repeal caused universal rejoicing throughout the British dominions. The Americans celebrated with bonfires and speeches. They wanted to be loyal Englishmen. John Adams said they were "as quiet and submissive to government as any people under the sun, and as little inclined to tumult and sedition." They took no notice of the Declaratory Act, for they cared very little about what resolutions, or platforms, were adopted so long as they were not put into force.

158. American Tories became Unpopular. — Unfortunately it was now proposed by the British government to strengthen the royal authority in America; to sustain the royal governors and judges by the army and make them more independent of popular favor, and to revise the democratic constitutions of some of the colonies. The Whigs believed, as Governor Hutchinson's letters which Franklin sent to America showed, that these proposals came to Parliament from the Tories in America, and this made the Tories very unpopular. The American Tories led the English rulers to believe that the orderly classes in America were in favor of more authority and taxes, and if Parliament would only show a firm hand, the disorderly element would have to submit. In 1767 Parliament resumed the taxing policy and "from this time," says an English historian, "the English government of America is little more than a series of deplorable blunders."

159. Townshend Acts passed, 1767. — In this year the Townshend Acts were passed: one suspended the New York Legislature till it would provide barracks for the royal troops (§ 152); another provided for further enforcing the trade laws; a third laid taxes on glass, lead, painters' colors, paper, and tea. Townshend said he would observe the American distinction between *internal* and *external* taxation; so he provided that his taxes were to be collected at the ports, like an external tax. But

the Americans were not to be caught by a smart trick like that. They saw that while the *form* of the tax was different from that of the stamp tax, the *purpose* was the same, — it was to raise revenue, not to regulate trade, and they would not submit to it.

The colonists got up non-importation agreements, promising not to buy English manufactures, especially those on which



SAMUEL ADAMS.

“The Father of the American Revolution” was born in Boston in 1722, and was graduated from Harvard in 1742. The chief work of his life was his resistance to the tyranny of the king of England, and he did more than any other man to bring on the American Revolution. He died in 1803.

liberties. He did not want the people to pay a tax for a standing army forced on them in time of peace nor to support officers who were unfriendly to the people and whom the people could

Great Britain and America drift apart. not control. This letter gave offense to the king and his ministers, and the Massachusetts legislature was dissolved for refusing to recall it, and the assemblies of Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia were dissolved for

The Townshend measures were resisted.

duties were laid. Samuel Adams, the “Father of the Revolution” in Massachusetts, who

knew how to organize the people and stir them up to resistance, got the Massachusetts Assembly, of which he was the leading member, to adopt a notable *Circular Letter* to the other assemblies. This letter, which Adams wrote (Febru-

Samuel Adams stirs the colonists to protest again. ary 11, 1768), protested against the Townshend Acts, and again set forth boldly the American arguments and principles on taxation.

It asked the other assemblies to protest and try to get the acts repealed. Adams said that the Townshend Acts were *unconstitutional* and that to make the royal governors and judges independent of the people would endanger their

expressing approval of it. That of Virginia was dissolved for expressing disapproval of Parliament's treatment of New York. So the breach was widening.

160. British and Colonists come to Blows.—The Americans also resisted the British policy by outbreaks of riots and mob violence, — a resistance which was not always to their credit and which did their cause more harm than good, as lawless violence always does. The revenue officers were disliked. They were too arrogant and strict. When some of them seized a ship of John Hancock's, a mob chased them back to the British frigate. The *Gaspée*, a revenue cutter, which was too active in suppressing smuggling, ran on a sand bar, where it stuck fast. It was then boarded and burned to the water's edge by a band of Rhode Islanders, and no one would testify and help punish the offenders (1772). In North Carolina the "Regulators," who felt oppressed by heavy taxes and who had sought in vain for peaceable relief, met a body of Governor Tryon's militia in a pitched battle and were defeated in the battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771.

On the other hand, the conduct of the British government was worse than the violence of the Americans. In the winter of 1768–1769, as a means of enforcing the Townshend measures, Parliament revived an old law of Henry VIII's time, authorizing the king to bring to England for trial any one accused of treason in the colonies, and in 1772 it was ordered that those who had burned the *Gaspée* should be sent over if they could be caught. To carry out such a policy (it may have been only a threat) might result in injustice and tyranny, for it violated the old right of every Englishman to be tried by a jury in the neighborhood where he was charged with crime. Burke denounced this law, and said that under it "a person may be executed according to form, but he can never be tried according to justice."

When the British soldiers came, they found a hostile people. Their presence stirred up bad blood. In New York they cut down a liberty pole which the people had erected, and this caused

a riot. In Boston (March 5, 1770) a crowd of men and boys hooted at a corporal's guard of soldiers in the streets, calling them "lobsters," "rascals," and "bloody backs," and with sticks and stones and threats they provoked the soldiers into firing on the crowd. Five citizens were killed outright, and six were wounded. All Boston was excited to fierce anger and resentment against the British.

British
soldiers fire
on Boston
citizens.



THE OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE,
BOSTON.

The scene of many patriotic meetings during colonial and Revolutionary days. An indignation meeting was held here the day after the Boston Massacre (1770). The first church built upon this site was a wooden one constructed in 1669. The present brick church was built in 1729, and since 1879 has been used as an historical museum and lecture room.

A great mass meeting expressed the indignation of the people and demanded the withdrawal of the troops. Governor Hutchinson felt compelled to comply, and the soldiers were removed to an island in Boston Bay. This event, called the "Boston Massacre," was altogether unnecessary and was almost accidental, but it was called to mind from year to year by memorial meetings and speeches, and was thus used as a means of arousing hatred against the British. It did as much as any other event to cause separation and war.

161. The Tea Tax and Boston "Tea Party." — In 1770 the Townshend tax measures were all repealed except the tea tax. This was retained for the sake of the principle, to show that Parliament would not give up the *right* to tax the Americans. It was a most foolish policy, one that no real statesman would ever be guilty of. The tea tax was useless for revenue, and the only purpose it

served was to keep up the agitation in America. Burke pleaded in vain for its repeal and for full restoration of the old way of letting the colonies tax and govern themselves. The ministry arranged for the Americans to get their tea cheaper than before, even after the tax was paid. But the Americans felt that the whole issue on taxation was involved in this tax on tea. To give up this would be to give up all, — the principle of self-taxation and the

Tea is
dumped into
the Boston
harbor.



OLD MASSACHUSETTS STATEHOUSE, BOSTON.

The "Old Statehouse," built for British officers in 1712, is the oldest public building now standing in Boston. From the balcony over the steps the English governors used to read the royal proclamations. When Washington visited Boston in 1789 a large reception was given to him in this building. It is no longer used for official purposes.

rights of popular assemblies. So when the tea came, it was sent back or destroyed or stored away to mold. In Boston, when the governor refused to send back the tea, a party of citizens disguised as Indians boarded a vessel and threw the tea into the

sea. Americans generally felt that they did right in resisting this unlawful tax. "Shame on the American," said Wendell Phillips many years later, "who calls the tea tax a *law*."



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

Faneuil Hall, or the "Cradle of Liberty," as it came to be called because so many important liberty meetings were held within its walls, was built about 1740, as a market house for Boston, at the expense of Peter Faneuil, a French merchant of that city. It was enlarged in 1806.

All these disturbances and disorders excited the anger of the king and his ministers. They felt that the Americans were rebels and rioters and must be made to obey the law.

The king
looked upon
the colonists
as rebels.

The Tories in America were urging the government to exercise a firmer authority and to send more troops.

"More government, too much liberty," was their cry.

The true policy would have been to do as Pitt and Burke advised, —to repeal the tea tax and seek peace and conciliation with America. But instead of this Parliament turned to the fatal policy of coercion.

162. Summary of American Grievances to 1774. — Before we notice the coercive measures which Parliament adopted let us summarize American grievances up to 1774 : —

1. A Parliament in which Americans were wholly unrepresented claimed and had exercised the power —

(*a*) to restrict their commerce.

(*b*) to tax them.

(*c*) to suspend their assemblies.

2. British troops were planted among them to coerce them.

3. Their governors and judges were to be made independent of their assemblies.

4. The protection of the right of trial by jury had been taken away in certain cases.

5. Their citizens were threatened with transportation for trial.

163. The Intolerable Acts. — Instead of retracing its steps and relieving the fears of the Americans on these matters, Parliament proceeded to pass three intolerable coercive measures : —

1. *The Boston Port Bill.* — This closed the port of Boston, allowing no ships to come or go, till the tea that had been destroyed had been paid for. Only food and fuel could be brought in. The customhouse was removed to Salem and an English man-of-war was to blockade the port. So Boston was to be punished by having her trade and prosperity destroyed. "The property of unoffending thousands is arbitrarily taken away for the act of a few individuals."

2. *The Massachusetts Act.* — This revoked the Massachusetts charter of 1691, and a new form of government was given to that colony. The upper house (senate) was now to be appointed by the crown. The governor's power was to be increased and he was no longer to depend on the people. The judges, magistrates, and sheriffs were to be appointed by the royal governor, and the jurors were to be summoned by these sheriffs and be no longer elective. The right of public meeting was to be abridged, — the old town meetings, as "nests of sedition and self-govern-

ment," were to be broken up. Men like Samuel Adams were not to be given a chance to arouse the people against the government. If Americans submitted to this act, "their chartered rights and liberties were annihilated."

3. *The Act for the Administration of Justice.*—This provided that if any person were indicted for murder in Massachusetts and it appeared to the governor or judge that his act was committed in aiding magistrates to suppress tumults and riots and that a fair trial could not be had, the prisoner should be sent to England or to another colony for trial. Captain Preston had been given a fair trial and had been acquitted for the "Boston Massacre," but the British government was determined not to allow Massachusetts juries to try British soldiers for offenses committed in preserving order. The Americans felt that this was to encourage the soldiers to use force and to shield them from punishment for violence, and that the "lives of citizens might be destroyed with impunity."

In addition to these three measures a new *Quartering Act* was passed, by which General Gage was made governor of Massachusetts, and more troops were to be quartered in Boston.

The same year (1774) the *Quebec Act* was passed, extending Canada to the Ohio River under French law, arbitrary rule, and the Catholic religion. This act was one of wise toleration. It had no reference to the Thirteen Colonies and it did not take away any legal privileges of Englishmen. But the colonies believed it was directed against them; it was offensive especially to New England and the colonies claiming territory in the West, and it was an important influence in producing the American Revolution.

164. The Colonies unite ; Committees of Correspondence.—The coercive acts were directed against Massachusetts, but they threatened the rights of every other colony. In the face of a common danger all were ready to unite to support Massachusetts. Provisions were sent to Boston from other colonies. Virginia appointed a day for prayer and fasting, and it was recognized that such an injury to one was the concern of all.

The colonies were far apart, travel was difficult, but they had a means of acting together. In 1772 the Massachusetts towns under the leadership of Samuel Adams began to correspond with one another. In 1773 Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson secured from the Burgesses in Virginia a permanent *Committee of Correspondence*, "to maintain a correspondence with our sister colonies." Other colonies followed this example. This was important as a means of coöperating in their resistance to the acts of Parliament, and was one of the early steps in forming the union.

165. The First Continental Congress, 1774. — Through these Committees of Correspondence several assemblies suggested a congress of the colonies. Massachusetts issued the call, and the congress met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. There were delegates from every colony except Georgia, where the governor interfered. This was one of the most important meetings thus far held in the colonies. It began a movement which later resulted in throwing off British authority and erecting a new government in America.

The Congress published a famous "Declaration of Rights" in which it approved the course of Massachusetts, demanded the repeal of the coercive measures and the Quebec Act, denounced as illegal a standing army in time of peace without the consent of the colony, and complained of the dissolution of their assemblies. The colonies now denied the right of Parliament to legislate for them, though they were willing to submit to honest trade regulations; they sent addresses to the king, to the people of Great Britain and to Canada (asking Canada to join in resistance), and finally and most important, the Congress formed the *American Association*, for the non-importation and non-consumption of British goods. This agreement was to be enforced in the colonies by their own town and county committees, and any colony not coöperating was to be regarded as "an enemy to the liberties of the country." The Congress let it be understood that force against Massachusetts would be met

Declaration
of Rights.

Agreement
not to im-
port or con-
sume
British
goods.

by force from the united colonies. Before adjourning it called another Congress to meet in May, 1775.

166. Lord North's Proposals.—Lord North now proposed that if the colonies would tax themselves to the satisfaction of the British government, all tax measures of Parliament would be withdrawn. This offer was rejected by the colonies, and Parliament now declared Massachusetts in a state of rebellion, and General Gage was ordered to subdue the insurrection. Instructions were sent to arrest Hancock, Samuel Adams, and other popular leaders for trial. The members of the patriot party of Massachusetts were now obeying the Provincial Congress, organized and controlled by these leaders. They began to organize "minutemen" to assemble at a minute's warning, and to gather military stores.

167. Battle of Lexington.—General Gage sent some soldiers from Boston to destroy some of these stores at Concord. Paul Revere, on his famous ride, aroused the country along the road, shouting the warning, "The regulars are coming!" The minutemen seized their rifles, and from village and farm came together at Lexington, April 19, 1775. When the British troops under Major Pitcairn reached Lexington, they found fewer than fifty men drawn up on the green. "Don't fire unless you are fired on," said their captain, Parker, "but if they want a war, let it begin here." "Disperse, ye rebels," shouted Pitcairn. But the yeomanry stood their ground, and were fired upon by the soldiers. Eight patriots fell and eight more were wounded, and on that famous day at Lexington the war of the American Revolution began.

The minutemen fell back, and the soldiers went on and destroyed the ammunition at Concord, but there at Concord bridge they had to meet by this time four hundred and fifty Americans, who resisted, "And fired the shot heard round the world." The British turned to flight, and on the retreat to Boston they found the country alive with riflemen who, from behind tree and house, haystack, fence, and wall, poured in a deadly fire; and it is said that before the exhausted troops reached the shelter of

reënforcements, "their tongues were hanging out like dogs' after a chase." The British had lost two hundred and seventy-three men; the Americans, ninety-three. It had been shown that American militiamen dared resist British regulars.

168. The Americans were compelled to fight for their Rights. — This attack and resistance aroused the spirit of war in the whole country. It was felt that the king had made war on his people. The time to petition and to pass resolutions had gone; the time to fight had come. Warren called New England to arms "to prevent an inhuman soldiery from ravaging this devoted country with fire and sword." Patrick Henry in the Second Continental Congress expressed the feeling of the patriot party of America. "We have petitioned, we have remonstrated, we have supplicated, we have prostrated ourselves at the foot of the throne, and it has been all in vain. We must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight!"

The war had begun in defense of American rights. We are now to study the influences leading to American independence.

FACTS AND DATES

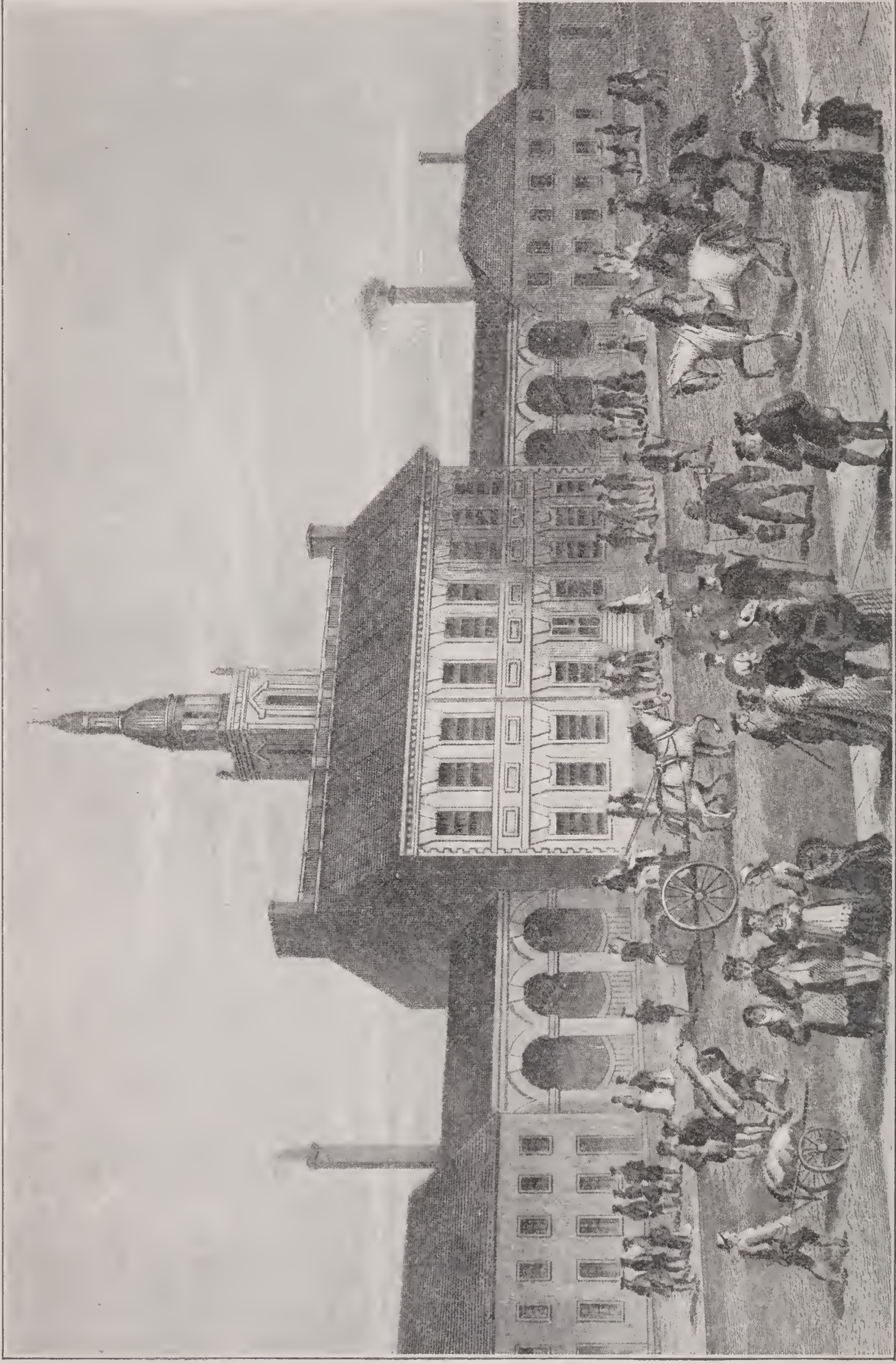
- 1763. Close of the Seven Years' War. — Treaty of Paris.
- 1764. Parliament proposes to enforce the Trade Laws, to quarter Troops in America, and to tax the Colonies.
- 1765. Stamp Act passed. — Stamp Act Congress.
- 1766. Repeal of the Stamp Act. — Declaratory Act.
- 1767. Townshend Measures, Commercial Taxation.
- 1768. Troops quartered in Boston. — Massachusetts Circular Letter.
- 1770. Boston Massacre. — Taxes removed except on Tea.
- 1772. Burning of the *Gaspée*.
- 1773. Boston Tea Party.
- 1774. Three Intolerable Measures: (1) Boston Port Bill, (2) Massachusetts Act, (3) Transportation Act.
Quebec Act.
- 1774. Meeting of First Continental Congress.
- 1775. Beginning of War at Lexington and Concord, April 19.

CHAPTER X

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

169. The Americans were defeated at Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. — The Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775. On the same day Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys of Vermont seized the important fortress of Ticonderoga, “in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.” Congress voted to raise an army of twenty thousand men and appointed Washington to the chief command. After the fight at Concord and Lexington a New England army, consisting of troops of several colonies under no single commander, soon gathered around Boston. Under Warren, Putnam, and Prescott the Americans took a position on Bunker Hill. Gage’s troops assaulted their works (June 17, 1775). The Americans resisted two desperate assaults. At the third they fell back, defeated but far from discouraged. The British had lost one thousand men out of the three thousand engaged. The Americans lost about four hundred and fifty. Among them was General Joseph Warren, one of the bravest and most unselfish patriots of the Revolution. Bunker Hill was a moral victory for the Americans, for they showed again that they could stand against the regulars and could fight with courage.

170. Washington takes command, July 3, 1775. — Washington now took command of the American army at Cambridge, July 3, 1775. It is well to recall the great services of Washington. He is properly called the “Father of his Country,” for no one did more to help win our independence and establish our government. He is the greatest man of the American Revolution, one of the noblest men of the English-speaking race. It



INDEPENDENCE HALL IN PHILADELPHIA, 1776.

Here the Continental Congress met, Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the Continental armies, the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and the Constitution of the United States was framed.

was most fortunate for the Americans that they had such a noble leader at this time. He was patriotic, ready to serve his country without pay and at great sacrifice. He was patient in suffering, wise in judgment, self-controlled but quick and decisive in action. He believed in right and duty and had faith in God. As he is pictured at Valley Forge, praying for his country in the darkest hour of the Revolution, we think of him as bearing upon his shoulders the fortunes of his country. Probably no other leader could have borne the burden so well.

Washington found an army disorganized, without discipline, or supplies or heavy guns, and he could not take the offensive about Boston till the spring of 1776. On March 17, 1776, he seized Dorchester Heights, and the British were compelled to evacuate Boston. They and many of their Tory friends boarded the fleet and "went to Halifax." The army was in bad condition.

In the fall of 1775 an American expedition under Montgomery and Benedict Arnold made an unsuccessful attack on Canada; while in June 1776 the British were repulsed from Fort Moultrie in Charleston harbor.¹

171. Americans were Ready for Independence after a Year of Fighting.—A year of war had now made the Americans ready for independence. It was not for independence that they took up arms. Washington said, "When I first took command of the army I abhorred the idea of independence;" he even then hoped for "a lasting and happy union with Great Britain." Jefferson said, "Before the 19th of April, 1775, I had never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from the mother country." Franklin told Pitt in England that the colonists did not desire independence and such was not their purpose in resisting the measures of Parliament. In July, 1775, Congress published its *Declaration of the Causes of Taking up Arms*. This sums up the long list of grievances that we have described. It then charges that General Gage had begun hostilities at Lexington and Concord.

¹ Here it was that Sergeant Jasper, in the midst of the hottest fire from the British, climbed the parapet and restored the flagstaff that had been shot away.

Philad. July 5. 1775

Mr Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament,
and one of that Majority which has
doomed my Country to Destruction. —
— You have begun to burn our Towns
and murder our People. — Look upon
your Hands! — They are stained with the
Blood of ^{your} Relations! — You and I were
long Friends: — You are now my En-
emy, — and

I am,

Yours,
B Franklin

FRANKLIN'S FAMOUS LETTER TO A MEMBER OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.

The long friendship between Franklin and Strahan,
interrupted by the war, was afterwards renewed.

“Parliament claims unlimited power over us, to make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever. We have no voice in the body that proposes so to govern us. Fleets and armies are sent to force us into submission. We have but the two alternatives, unconditional submission or resistance by force. We prefer to die freemen rather than to live slaves. But we have no intention to dissolve the union. Our armies are not for separation. We have taken up arms against violence actually offered; we shall lay them down when hostilities cease on the part of our aggressors, not before. May our adversaries be reconciled on reasonable terms and the Empire relieved from the calamities of civil war.”

Congress
stated the
causes for
the war.

These are the words of Congress, and they no doubt express the sentiment of the country in the summer of 1775. Some say Congress did not act in harmony with these words. It is, no doubt, true that there were radical men in Congress and in the country who secretly favored independence and who were watching every chance to influence public opinion in that direction. But the evidence goes to show that perhaps not one fifth of the people of America had independence in view at the time the Americans took up arms. They were fighting in self-defense, to preserve old rights and an old constitution, not to set up new ones, and they constantly disavowed the purpose or the desire for independence. They still hoped for honorable reconciliation. They had pride in Britain's dominion, they gloried in her history, and they were most reluctant to cut themselves off forever from being a part of the old mother country. But when the king arrogantly refused the last petition of Congress, — their “olive branch of peace,” — when Parliament and the king declared the colonies in a state of rebellion and said that all the resources of the Empire would be used to subdue them, and when some of their towns were burned by the king's forces, as Norfolk, Charlestown, and Falmouth, the sentiment of the colonists began to change. They saw in the future other towns in ashes, the redcoats overrunning the land, and the British

Many did
not wish to
separate
from Great
Britain.

navy blockading their ports. Still some favored submission, while others, who very much disliked the acts of the government, thought it useless to resist.

At this opportune time, in the early part of 1776, when the people were very bitter against the king and the British government, but wavering as to what course to take, appeared Thomas Paine's powerful pamphlet, "Common Sense." Paine was the

Thomas Paine argues for independence in *Common Sense*. first to argue openly and boldly for independence. In "Common Sense" he sought first to get the minds of the people away from their foolish worship of kings. "One honest man is worth more to society in the

sight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived," he said; and when the king referred "the matter from argument to arms, all considerations prior to the battle of Lexington were like last year's almanacs," — they were out of date. He showed that the connection with Great Britain was no longer to the advantage of America, that it would continually involve us in European wars and quarrels, and interfere with our markets; and he said it was absurd that a great continent should continue to be dependent on the people of a little island three thousand miles away. This was like making a satellite larger than its planet. Other writers and essayists throughout the colonies supported Paine, and the country was being roused against any more British rule.

There was one thing that had more influence even than Paine's writings in promoting the spirit of independence. This was the

The coming of the Hessians incensed the Americans. coming of the Hessians. These were "foreign mercenaries" that the king had hired in Hesse-Cassel, a little state in Germany, to fight against the Americans. In May, 1776, it became known to the Americans that

ten thousand of these Hessians were already on the sea coming to help subdue them. As many as thirty thousand came altogether. They had no principle at stake, no love of country to fight for, but they were coming merely for pay, hired by the British to fight against British flesh and blood in America. This was the crowning political blunder of the British government.

It aroused resentment and bitterness in America, and after such a wrong it was useless to hope for reconciliation with the colonies.

Virginia now led in the movement for independence. In May, 1776, that colony instructed her delegates in Congress to propose this final step. Accordingly on June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, who was the chairman of the Virginia delegation, proposed his famous resolution: "*That these United Colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states.*"

Lee's resolution.

172. The Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776). — Some of the colonies were not yet ready, and the resolution was opposed by Dickinson and Wilson of Pennsylvania and by Rutledge of South Carolina; but a committee was appointed consisting of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston to draft a declaration in harmony with this resolution. Jefferson wrote the Declaration, "without reference to book or paper." Adams and Franklin made a few verbal changes. On July 1 it was debated. Jefferson sat silent; he was not a debater. "John Adams was our Colossus on the floor," said Jefferson after-

Dickinson, Wilson, and Rutledge oppose the resolution for independence.

Jefferson writes the Declaration of Independence.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled.

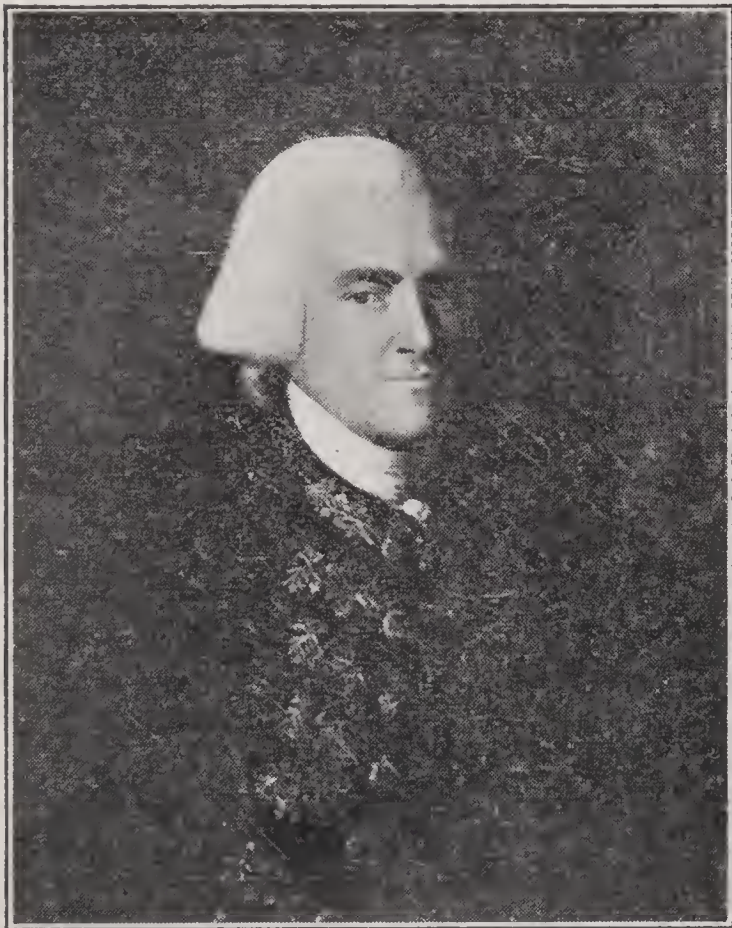
When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for ^{one} people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with ^{another}, and to ~~assume~~ ^{assume} among the powers of the earth the ^{separate and equal} ~~equal~~ station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to ~~the~~ ^{the} separation.

THE OPENING LINES OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

This is one of the most important documents ever published in the history of the world. This illustration shows in reduced form the handwriting of the author of the Declaration, Thomas Jefferson, and some of the changes made in the original draft.

ward, "not graceful nor elegant nor fluent, but he came out

with a power of thought and expression that moved us from our seats." Dickinson led the opposition. He admitted the *justice* of the Declaration, but doubted its *policy* at that time. He did not want "to shut the door of accommodation with Great Britain." He did not think the Declaration would be a means of obtaining foreign help; it might unite parties in England against us, and we ought not to take such a step, he said, until we had made a compact with France, and a confederation among ourselves. Independence was a step of stupendous importance; it was crossing a river that could never be recrossed, and Dickinson pleaded for delay. Dickinson had done as much as any man in defending the rights of America in the ten years' debate that had gone before. He was not a Tory, and when he was voted down on this occasion and the colonies voted for



JOHN HANCOCK.

Born at Quincy, Mass., 1737, graduated from Harvard, became a member of the "Sons of Liberty," and, with Samuel Adams, was declared an outlaw by the British. As President of Congress he was the first signer of the Declaration of Independence. Was a soldier in the Revolution, and later Governor of Massachusetts. Died at his birthplace in 1793.

independence, he patriotically entered the army of the Revolution and fought on the side of his country.

Finally, on July 2, all the colonies except New York, which

Lee's
resolution
passed
July 2, 1776.

assented later, voted for Lee's motion. Some of them did so reluctantly (South Carolina and Pennsylvania), desiring to make the vote unanimous. For two days more Congress considered the form of Jefferson's Declaration. It struck out Jefferson's unsparing condemnation of the king for keeping open the slave trade, a "piratical warfare," "a market where MEN should be bought and sold." This was omitted, as Jefferson afterward testified, out



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, ADOPTED JULY 4, 1776.

The Declaration was signed by fifty-five delegates, headed by John Hancock, the President of the Continental Congress. The members signed on August 2, 1776. The first copy of the Declaration giving the names of the signers was published in January, 1777.

of regard to South Carolina and Georgia and also because the New Englanders, though not having many slaves themselves, were considerable carriers of them to others and were therefore a little sensitive on that point. Finally, on the 4th of July, 1776, the Declaration received the final sanction of Congress.

CHAPTER XI

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

173. Principles more Important than Battles. — We cannot go into the details of the battles of the Revolution. It is more important to know the principles underlying a war, — to know how and why a nation gets into a war and how it gets out, — than to trace the history of marches, sieges, battles, and campaigns. The glory of war is in its courage, patriotism, self-sacrifice, and devotion. These qualities were brought out in America by the seven years' struggle for independence, in which two million five hundred thousand people, "armed in the holy cause of liberty," won their independence against a nation many times more powerful in resources and in men.

THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE STATES, 1776

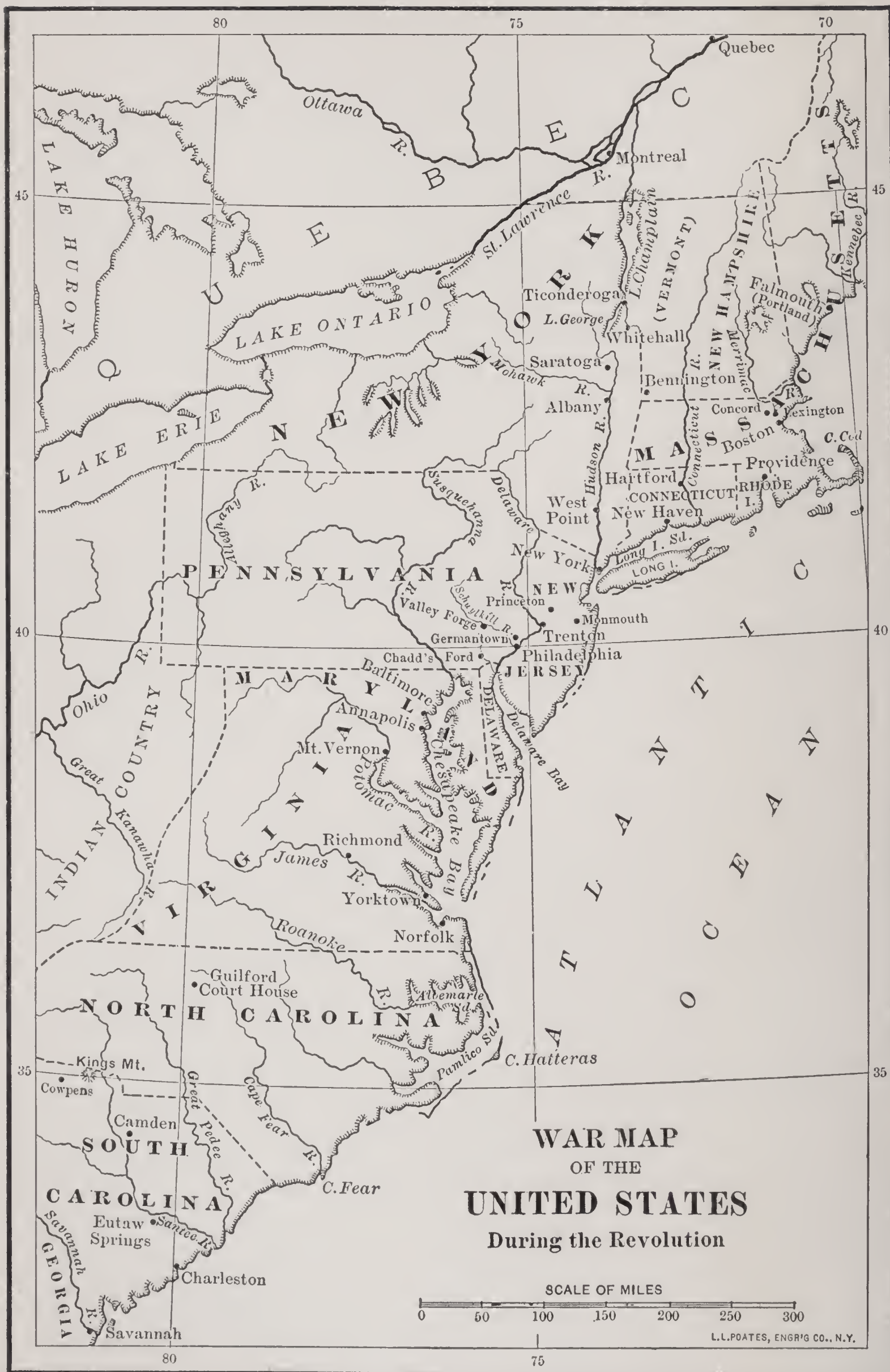
174. The British seek Control of the Hudson. — The first object of the British in the war was to take New York, Philadelphia, and the Hudson, and thus cut the colonies in two by separating New England from the South. They would then conquer each section separately. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were not so hostile to British rule as was New England. There were more Tories in the Middle Colonies, and there was considerable Tory sentiment south of Virginia. The British thought if New England and Virginia could be cut off and suppressed, the war would soon be over. So the Middle Colonies became the scene of the war for the first two years after independence was declared.

Washington tried to defend New York. He had moved his troops to that place from Boston in April, and he now fortified

Brooklyn Heights. The Americans also built Fort Lee and Fort Washington a little way up the Hudson from New York to keep the British fleet from going up that river. The British army was commanded by General William Howe, and the fleet by his brother, Lord Howe. The British army soon numbered about thirty thousand men, nearly double that of the Americans. Washington was attacked by Howe in the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776) and was defeated. The American army was barely saved from capture by the skill and strategy of Washington, who, leaving his camp fires burning, had his forces ferried across the East River to New York, leaving the British only his empty camp.

Howe
defeats
Washington
at Long
Island and
captures
New York.

175. Washington's Memorable Retreat to Trenton. — Howe followed Washington up the east side of the Hudson and defeated the Americans again at White Plains, and then captured Fort Washington. The American army crossed to the west side of the Hudson a little below Peekskill; and General Charles Lee was left with seven thousand men on the east side of the river. Lee was ordered to join his forces to Washington's, but in jealousy and mutiny he refused to obey, and Washington began his long and memorable retreat through New Jersey to Trenton. As the British followed, Washington crossed to the west side of the Delaware. The British hoped to catch Washington's army and end the war in this one campaign. If Howe with his overwhelming force had ordered Cornwallis vigorously to pursue Washington, instead of ordering the troops to stop at New Brunswick, if he had quickly struck at Philadelphia, he could no doubt have captured the city and he would probably have completely broken the American resistance. But Howe made the mistake of seeking his comfort in winter quarters in New York to rejoice over his victories. This illustrates one of the causes of American success in the Revolution, — the incompetency of the British commanders and the greater ability of Washington and the greater sacrifice his soldiers were ready to undergo.



176. Dark Hour in the Revolution. — With Washington's army in retreat, after repeated defeats, it was a dark hour for America, perhaps the darkest of the war. The defeated army was ragged, poorly armed, without pay or rations; many terms of enlistment were about to expire, and the number of troops was rapidly decreasing. The people were disheartened. British and Hessian soldiers were plundering Tories and patriots alike in New Jersey. Many were deserting the American cause and were ready to take advantage of Howe's offer of pardon and to seek British protection. Philadelphia was in a panic of fear, and Congress, committing absolute authority to Washington, abandoned that city and fled to Baltimore. It was during these dark days of retreat, defeat, and despair that Thomas Paine's first number of *The Crisis* appeared.

Thomas
Paine stirs
the people in
The Crisis.

"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it *Now* deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny is not easily conquered; yet the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. . . . Britain with an army to enforce her tyranny has declared that she has a right to enforce her will upon America, not only to *Tax*, but to *Bind us in All Cases Whatsoever*, and if being bound in that manner is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth."

In such stirring words Paine continued from time to time to arouse the people to fight on against the British. In the cause of American liberty Paine's powerful pen was as mighty as Washington's sword.

177. Washington revives America by the Victories of Trenton and Princeton. — It was at this dark hour, too, that Washington's greatness appeared. He had not lost heart, and he determined upon a bold stroke. On Christmas night, 1776, while the Hessians stationed at Trenton were in a Christmas carousal, Washington crossed the Delaware, amid snow and ice,

surprised the enemy, captured one thousand Hessians and one thousand stands of arms, with the loss of only two officers and two privates. It was a great victory. Washington made a quick retreat before Cornwallis could come up, but he soon recrossed the river and won another complete victory over the British in the battle of Princeton (January 3, 1777). Cornwallis was completely outgeneraled, supposing that Washington was in his front until he heard the guns in his rear on the morning of the battle.

1777

178. Robert Morris raises Money for the Army. — After the battle of Princeton Washington went into winter quarters at Morristown, and reënforcements came to his army. The country rejoiced over his victories, with renewed hope and courage for the conflict. In this period Robert Morris, “the financier of the Revolution,” rendered great services to his country by raising money and by giving from his own fortune. By these means Washington’s soldiers were clothed and fed.

179. Howe takes Philadelphia. — Howe determined to capture Philadelphia. Leaving a garrison in New York, he put about eighteen thousand men on board his fleet and sailed, no one knew where. The Americans obstructed the Delaware River, and Howe, after delays and difficulties at sea, finally landed his troops at the head of Chesapeake Bay, at Elkton, August 25, 1777. Washington, who was waiting until he learned of Howe’s landing place, marched to Wilmington, Delaware, to meet him. As Howe advanced, Washington fell back to Chadd’s Ford, on Brandywine Creek, where a battle was fought September 11, 1777. The Americans were defeated, losing twelve hundred men, but Washington retired in good order to Philadelphia. He was not able to defend the city, and

Battles of
Brandywine
and German-
town.

Howe entered it in triumph. Washington, planning a bold surprise, attacked the British again at Germantown (October 4, 1777), but fog and confusion among his men, which led one division to fire upon another, prevented

his success. Washington now went into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

180. Burgoyne comes down from Canada. — The capture of Philadelphia did not help the British much. Howe should have gone north, along the Hudson, to coöperate in Burgoyne's invasion. His failure to do so brought to the British one of the most decisive losses of the war. The British wished to gain control of the Hudson. Their plan now was for General Burgoyne to come down from Canada, while Howe was to meet him by going north from New York. Another expedition under St. Leger was to go by Lake Ontario to Oswego, take Fort Stanwix, and come down the Mohawk. Howe failed to do his part, either from lack of orders, or lack of sense, or both. When he withdrew the main body of his army in order to take Philadelphia, all the American forces in the north could go against Burgoyne.

Burgoyne started south in June. On July 5, 1777, Ticonderoga, with provisions, stores, and cannon, was taken without a blow in its defense, and John Adams said that some American commander would have to be shot before their forces would learn to defend a fortress. But the farther Burgoyne got into the enemy's country, the greater his difficulties became. Schuyler, the American commander, with hardly more than four thousand men, put all kinds of difficulties in his way, destroying bridges, felling trees, burning what could be used for supplies, and harassing his flanks. Burgoyne could hardly make a mile a day. His provisions gave out and he had to forage. He sent a detachment under Colonel Baum with eight hundred men to capture some military supplies at Bennington, Vermont. They were met (August 16) by Colonel John Stark and General Warner, with nine hundred American militiamen, and were cut to pieces, Baum losing almost his whole force. Meanwhile St. Leger's expedition coming from the west down the Mohawk failed to unite with Burgoyne. Fort Stanwix (or Fort Schuyler, near Rome, New York) held out against him. General Herki-

Schuyler
harasses
and delays
Burgoyne.

mer attacked his forces in an attempt to relieve the fort, and a bloody hand-to-hand battle followed at Oriskany (August 6, 1777). Herkimer was killed, and the battle was not decisive, but when reënforcements under Arnold came to the Americans in the fort, St. Leger was driven back to Canada.

General Schuyler, the American commander, who had done well, was replaced by General Horatio Gates, a man of no merit. Encouraged by Stark's victory and St. Leger's repulse, the American militia rallied to reënforce the army. They were stirred to energy also by their fear of Indian atrocities under incitement of the British, and their army was soon increased to thirteen thousand men.

181. Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, 1777. — Burgoyne was now doomed. St. Leger was beaten; there was no hope from the South, where Washington was keeping Howe engaged all summer. Burgoyne's forces were being cut off from Canada, and his hope of retreat would soon be gone. Attempting to cut his way out and save his army, he attacked the American forces at Bemis Heights, but was held in check by the skill and valor of the troops under Arnold and Morgan. Burgoyne then retreated to Saratoga, where he was again defeated and then completely surrounded. Nothing remained for him but to lay down his arms and surrender his entire army of more than six thousand men.

This was the most important military event of the war. It was the turning point in the struggle. Its immediate result was the alliance between France and America, bringing such aid in men and money as finally brought about American success.

Saratoga
was the de-
cisive battle
of the war.

182. The Assistance of the French was Important. — It is not easy to see how America could have won her independence without French aid. In 1775 Congress had appointed a secret committee "to correspond with our friends abroad." In 1776 Silas Deane was sent to France to solicit aid. He was later joined by Doctor Franklin and Arthur Lee. It was Franklin's great influence and diplomacy and his wonderful popularity in

Paris that brought about French good will. At first the French king would give no open aid to the Americans, but he secretly furnished supplies through Beaumarchais, who claimed to be a merchant selling arms to America on credit. The French wanted to make sure that the Americans would not be reconciled to Great Britain. France was pleased when independence was declared, but still she held off to see if America could make the Declaration good by military success. Burgoyne's surrender convinced the French, and in its tidings "they heard the knell of English dominion in America." France now came out openly on the American side.

On February 6 and 7, 1778, France made two treaties with America. One was a treaty of

The alliance with France made, 1778.

commerce, which gave great commercial advantages to America; the other was a treaty of alliance, the first and only treaty of the kind our country has ever made. By this treaty France acknowledged the independence of America. The French king knew that the treaty of alliance would lead to a war between France and Great Britain, but he promised to continue the war until American independence was secured. This he did, and the aid of France was most valuable. During 1777 Lafayette and other Frenchmen came to America to aid Washington; and Steuben, De Kalb, Pulaski, and other foreigners greatly aided the American cause.

The French alliance led to other difficulties in Europe for



THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Born in Auvergne, France, 1757; died at Paris, 1834. Became a major-general in the American army in 1777. Fought his first battle at Brandywine, and there was wounded in the leg. Spent his own money freely for clothing and equipping the soldiers under his command. After the Revolution he visited the country twice; in 1784, on Washington's invitation, and in 1824, when he laid the cornerstone of Bunker Hill Monument.

England. In 1777 Congress sent Jay to Spain (as Franklin had gone to France) to induce that country to recognize our independence, to lend us money, and to come into the alliance. Spain was not friendly; she wanted to control the Mississippi River, and did not want the colonies to grow strong and expand toward the west, as she thought that would endanger her American possessions. Jay got a little money from Spain, but that country would not recognize our independence nor join the French-American alliance. However, Spain made war on England on her own account, chiefly for the sake of recovering Gibraltar, which Great Britain had held since the treaty of Utrecht, 1713. Soon after, Holland and Russia became hostile to Great Britain, and that country found herself without a friend or ally in the world. This situation in Europe came largely from the French alliance, and was very important, almost decisive, in compelling Great Britain to recognize American independence.

183. The Soldiers suffered Hardships at Valley Forge. — We left Washington in winter quarters at Valley Forge. His army had a terrible winter. Some of the soldiers mutinied, and Washington informed Congress that nearly three thousand of his men were unfit for duty, as they were barefooted and naked. Their line of march to winter quarters had been marked by their blood oozing from frost-bitten feet upon the snow. The commissary department was at fault, for there were shoes, stockings, and clothes lying unused at various places. During this winter some officers had formed a combination, called the "Conway Cabal," to displace Washington from the command and put Gates in his place. The plot fell through and Washington stood higher than ever with the country. At Valley Forge the American army received one great benefit; that was good drill and discipline by Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer who had joined the Americans. This discipline counted for much in their subsequent fighting.

1778-1779

184. Howe evacuates Philadelphia. — In the spring of 1778 Howe was succeeded by Clinton. On the approach of the French fleet Clinton abandoned Philadelphia for New York. Washington pursued Clinton's forces across New Jersey and attacked them at Monmouth (June, 1778) without any decisive results. The British then, in the summer of 1778, occupied New York and Newport, and Washington was in his old position about White Plains.

The Battle
of Mon-
mouth,
June, 1778.

After three years of war the British had not subdued either New England or the Middle Colonies, and were no better off than when the war began. They had gained nothing to offset their losses, and many of the leading men in England saw that America could not be subdued. Lord North saw this, and if he had acted the part of a constitutional minister, he would have resigned and left the king without a minister, as long as the king was bent on a war policy. But the king controlled the minister instead of the minister controlling the king, and North remained in office and continued the war against his better judgment.

The king
subordinates
the minister
contrary to
the Consti-
tution.

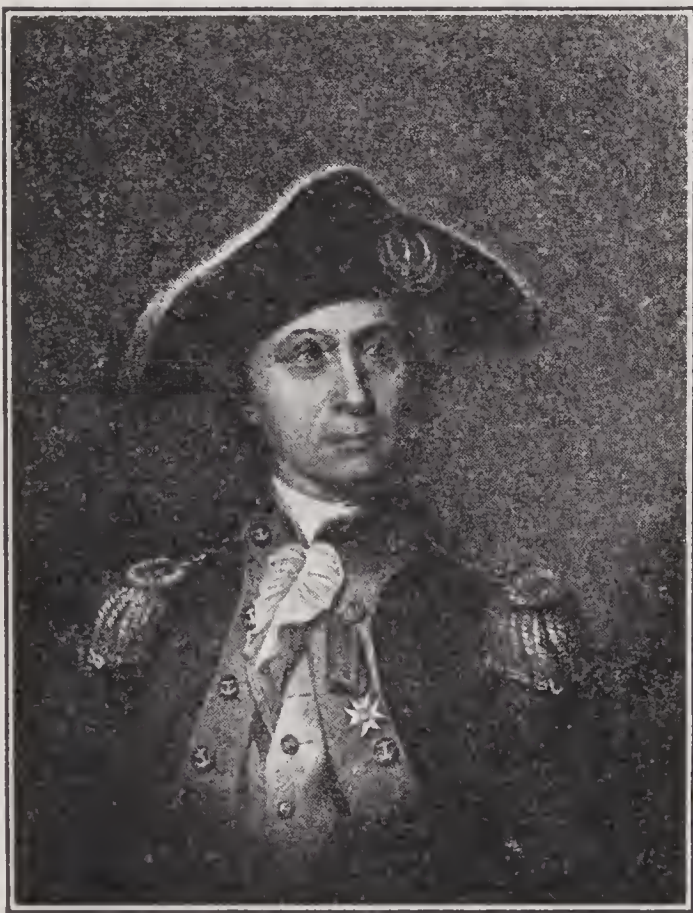
The French fleet under D'Estaing could not take New York, and it failed also in connection with General Sullivan's land forces to capture Newport. D'Estaing then sailed for the West Indies, and his presence there required the attention of a British force. England's troubles were increasing. On July 15, 1779, "Mad Anthony" Wayne, leading a body of twelve hundred Americans, stormed Stony Point, captured five hundred prisoners, and recaptured that strong fortress in one of the most daring exploits of the war. "Light Horse Harry" Lee also recaptured Paulus Hook, on the New Jersey coast.

185. Tories and Indians ravage in Pennsylvania and New York. — In the summer of 1778 Tories and Indians under Colonel Butler and Joseph Brant plundered and killed many settlers in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and in Cherry Valley,

New York. An expedition under General Sullivan retaliated on the Iroquois Indians and effectually broke their power.

1779 AND 1780

186. John Paul Jones, 1779. — During 1779 and 1780 the more important and interesting events of the war were in the South. But before turning in that direction let us notice the work of John Paul Jones upon the sea, and the treason of Benedict Arnold at West Point.



JOHN PAUL JONES.

"The founder of the American Navy" was born in Scotland in 1747 and died in Paris in 1799. His remains, or a body supposed to be his, were brought from France in 1905 and buried with honor at Annapolis, Maryland, in the country of his adoption. He was commander of a vessel in the West Indian trade at seventeen, and came to Virginia when twenty-six. After an illustrious career in the American Revolution he entered the Russian military service and won renown. Upon his death the National Assembly of France ordered a public funeral in his honor.

John Paul Jones was a Scotchman (born in 1747) who came to Virginia shortly before the Revolutionary War. When the war began, the Americans had no navy, but soon Congress or the colonies commissioned private vessels to prey upon British commerce. These vessels are called privateers. They are not public armed vessels, but private vessels, authorized by letters of marque and reprisal, to arm themselves and capture or destroy merchant vessels of the enemy. It is piracy under the form of law, and civilized nations have now nearly abandoned the custom of authorizing privateers. John Paul Jones was in command of the most famous of these privateers, the *Bon Homme Richard*, with a few other vessels. He "bearded the

lion in his den," by sailing to the very coast of England and Scotland, attacking exposed places, scouring British waters for

merchant vessels, and finally the *Richard* engaged the British vessel the *Serapis* in one of the bloodiest sea fights in history, considering the forces engaged. Jones ran his vessel alongside the *Serapis* and lashed the two boats together. It was then a death struggle hand to hand. The *Serapis* finally surrendered, but not until the *Richard* was so disabled that Jones had to transfer his men to the British vessel, while his own vessel soon sank in the sea. This was the beginning of American sea power. The American sailors won prestige and praise in Europe; and the Dutch, because they harbored Jones, whom the English demanded as a pirate, became involved in a war with England.

Jones
asserted
American
power on
the sea.

187. Arnold's Treason. — Benedict Arnold had rendered great service to his country in the war. He had, through great hardship, led an expedition to Canada in 1775; he had helped to relieve Fort Stanwix in the Burgoyne campaign; he had been one of the bravest and ablest leaders in defeating Burgoyne; and he had been severely wounded in the battle of Saratoga. It would have been better for him if he had been killed; for then he would have been honored as one of the heroes of the Revolution and his memory saved from disgrace.

In the summer of 1778, when Arnold's wound disabled him from active service, Washington placed him in command of Philadelphia, after the British evacuated that city. Here Arnold married a Tory woman, and he came to believe, with his Tory friends, that the French alliance was a bad policy and that the victory of Saratoga and Lord North's terms of peace ought to have ended the war. He was accused of favoring the Tories, of high living and extravagance, and of taking government property for private use. He ran in debt and engaged in speculations. On the charges brought against him by his Whig enemies he was acquitted by court-martial, but Washington was directed to give him a public reprimand for imprudence. Washington did this as gently as possible, but Arnold felt himself persecuted and insulted. He had already been in correspondence with the British authorities, and he now decided upon the infamous course

of selling himself and his country to the enemy. He resigned his command at Philadelphia, but Washington still had confi-

Arnold in
command of
West Point,
1780.

dence in him, and in July, 1780, he gave Arnold command of West Point, a fortress necessary to the control of the Hudson. Arnold was resolved not to

go over alone to the enemy, and he accepted the command of this important fortress with the intention of surrendering it to the British. It was an act of mean ingratitude to Washington and of the basest treason to his country. By secret correspondence with General Clinton a meeting was arranged between Arnold and Major John André, a British officer, who came disguised within the American lines to arrange the plan for carrying out Arnold's treason. Arnold gave André a pass through the lines and papers describing the fortress and the disposition of the troops. André put these papers in his boots, and on his way back to the British lines he

The treason
is discovered
and André
hanged.

was captured by three Americans, who could not be induced by bribes or threats to let him go. They disregarded his pass, searched him, and found the papers from Arnold. André was sent to Washing-

ton, but the papers were sent to Arnold, and this gave the traitor a chance to escape. He went to the British, received pay for his perfidy, and he served for a while in the British army. After the war he lived in England and died in poverty, despised and scorned by all men. André was hanged as a spy, meeting the same fate that the American patriot Nathan Hale had met, who had been hanged as a spy by the British general, Howe, four years before.

THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE SOUTH

188. The British in Georgia and the Carolinas, 1778, 1779. — For two years after June, 1776, the South was free from invasion. But in 1778 the British captured Savannah. In the summer of 1779 the Americans under General Lincoln and Count Pulaski, aided by the French fleet under D'Estaing,

attempted to recapture Savannah, but were repulsed with the loss of one thousand men, Pulaski being among the slain. The British then invaded South Carolina and captured Charleston with General Lincoln and his army of three thousand men.

South Carolina was overrun by the British, and the Americans, under the incompetent Gates, were totally defeated at the battle of Camden, August 16, 1780. Georgia and South Carolina seemed lost to the American cause, but Marion, the "Swamp Fox," and Sumter and Pickens and other South Carolina patriots kept the Whig spirit alive and continued the fight, annoying the British forces by an irregular warfare. There was bitter partisan strife between Whigs and Tories and excesses on both sides. At King's Mountain (October 7, 1780) the hardy patriot riflemen of the frontier, under John Sevier, killed or captured a body of eleven hundred Tories.

At Cowpens (January 17, 1781) a new American army under General Nathanael Greene, one of the best generals of the Revolutionary War, and General Daniel Morgan, one of the heroes of Saratoga, defeated and nearly destroyed the British forces under Tarleton. This was one of the most notable and effective victories in the southern campaign. But Greene was not able to stand against Cornwallis's full forces, and he began a masterly retreat across North Carolina. Cornwallis tried in vain to overtake Greene's army, but the rains favored the Americans, and the rivers rose at the right time to delay the British pursuers. Greene gave battle at Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781. He was defeated, but Cornwallis lost so heavily that he was unable to pursue farther, and retreated to Wilmington, North Carolina. Greene then returned to South Carolina and fought the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden. The British, under Lord Rawdon, held the field, but Rawdon's forces were crippled and his communications cut, and he was compelled to retreat into Charleston. Greene then won the battle of Eutaw Springs (September 8, 1781) and drove the

The
Americans
defeated at
Camden.

Greene
defends
the South.



British from the interior of Georgia into Savannah. Thus in a little over a year Greene's brilliant campaign had compelled the sections of the British forces to retire to three seaport cities, — Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah.

The British were confined to three seaports.

189. The British surrender at Yorktown, 1781. — The end was now near at hand. Cornwallis went to Virginia, where a British force under the traitor Arnold had been plundering for several months. Cornwallis joined Arnold's forces to his own, sent Arnold to New York, fortified Yorktown, and settled himself to await reënforcements. The British were now in their trap. A French fleet under De Grasse sailed up the Chesapeake in September. The French troops at Newport joined Washington at New York, and the combined forces marched rapidly southward to cut Cornwallis off by land, leaving Clinton in the belief that they intended to attack New York. The French fleet drove off the British ships, and Cornwallis, finding himself surrounded by superior forces on land and sea, on October 19, 1781, surrendered his entire army of seven thousand men.

The surrender at Yorktown virtually ended the war. The British held New York, Charleston, and Savannah for a while longer, but there was no more fighting. When Lord North heard of the news of Cornwallis's surrender, he threw up his hands and exclaimed, "O, God! it is all over!" The king was still obstinate, and he said he would never consent to the independence of America.

The surrender at Yorktown practically ended the war.

The Parliament, however, soon voted against continuing the war, and Lord North's ministry was forced out of office (March 20, 1782). The king had to submit. George's personal government had broken down, and constitutional government was again restored. This was one of the great results of the American Revolution. It brought a better liberty not only to America but to Great Britain as well. The king had to call the Whig party again to power, — Rockingham, Shelburne, Fox, Burke, and the younger Pitt. The Whigs were the friends of America, and they came into power with the avowed purpose of ending

the American war by recognizing American independence. They wished to detach America from France, and they were ready to agree to very generous terms of peace.

190. The Treaty of Peace, 1783. — The preliminary terms for a treaty were agreed to at Paris, November 30, 1782, but the final treaty was not signed till September 3, 1783, on the same day that France and Great Britain made peace.

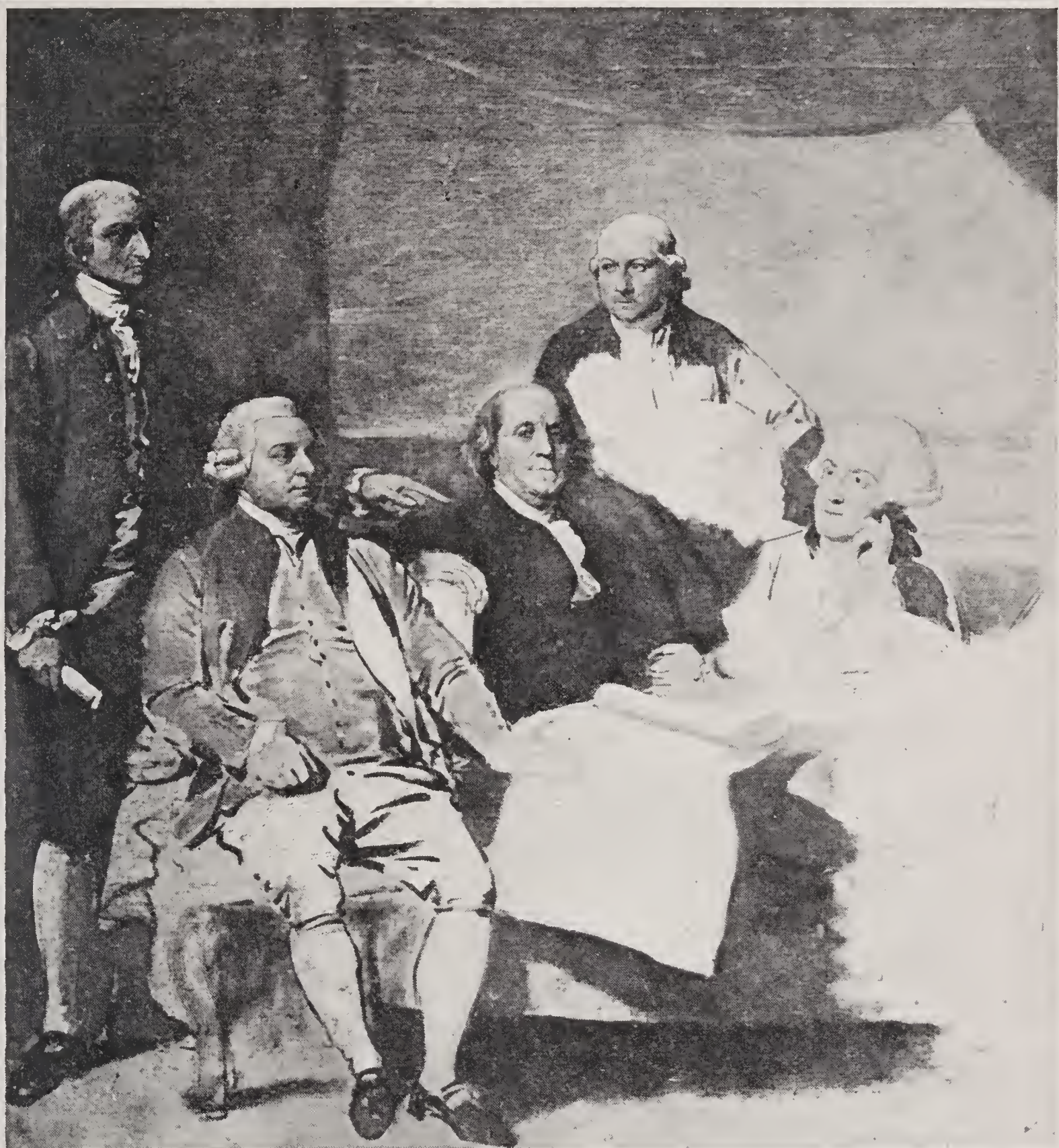
The American negotiators were Doctor Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, and their diplomacy won a great victory for the Americans. They had instructions from Congress to enter into no peace plans without the knowledge and consent of France. But Jay and Adams became suspicious of France, believing that she was seeking certain advantages for Spain at the expense of the Americans. They became convinced that France and Spain

The Americans became suspicious of France. were trying to prevent the Americans from extending their boundaries to the Mississippi, and that Spain was trying to deprive them of the right to the free navigation of that river, and France to take from them the rights in the fisheries which the colonists had enjoyed ever since 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht. France was willing to let the territory north of the Ohio go to Great Britain and that south of the Ohio she would have made an Indian country under the protection equally of Spain and the United States. The American ministers thought they should look out for the interest of their country, and so disregarded the instructions of Congress and came to terms with Great Britain without letting France know of it. Franklin apologized to the French minister, Vergennes, for having made a treaty without his knowledge, and France and Spain were surprised and somewhat chagrined at the liberal terms the Americans had obtained.

American independence was recognized, and the boundaries of the United States were fixed at the Great Lakes and Canada

Independence was recognized. on the north, the Mississippi on the west, and Florida on the south, at 31° north latitude. This gave America an area of about 827,800 square miles, with a population of about 3,250,000 people. The navigation of the





JOHN JAY. JOHN ADAMS. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. HENRY LAURENS.

The United States Commissioners in 1782 to sign the Treaty of Independence. The story is told that when the Commissioners became convinced that France did not desire to settle the western boundary of the United States where the Americans thought it should be, Franklin asked Jay, "Would you break your instructions?" "Yes," said Jay, "as I break my pipe," breaking and throwing his pipe into the fire. The Commissioners ultimately decided that in the circumstances they might ignore the letter of their instructions and an unexpectedly favorable treaty with Great Britain was secured without the aid of France. This picture is from an unfinished painting by Benjamin West. The figure behind Franklin is that of his grandson.

Mississippi was to be open and free to both nations, and the Americans were to have fishing rights on the banks of Newfoundland and on the Canadian shores.

The Americans agreed, on their part, that Congress should recommend to the states that all debts due from Americans to British merchants should be paid, and that no legal obstacles be put in the way of their collection in the courts; and Congress was to recommend that the property of the Tories which had been taken away should be restored and that these loyal subjects of the king should be allowed to return to the states. These parts of the treaty were very displeasing to some of the states, and they refused to carry them out, partly because the British carried away some of the negroes of the Americans when their armies withdrew from the country, and partly because of the bitter feeling toward the Tories.

In many places the Tories had been driven from their homes and in other ways had been harshly treated. It was felt that they had turned against their own countrymen, and that they had done more than any other class to bring on and continue the war. In some states they were very numerous, comprising nearly one half the people, and this made the war for independence in some of its aspects like a civil war. Many of the Tories were respectable people, men of property and standing; it was their class interests that led them to take the British side. They considered themselves true friends of liberty, and many of them were in favor of American rights to a certain extent; but they were opposed to agitation and change, and were especially opposed to independence and the French alliance. In spite of the treaty, some of the states continued their hard laws against the Tories, and many of them left for Halifax and other British settlements. A milder course would have been wiser, for in their departure America lost some worthy citizens. The bitter feeling between Patriot and Tory of the Revolution continued for many long years in America.

191. The Army disbanded, and Washington retires, 1783. —

After peace was assured, the American army was disbanded, the British withdrew their forces, and Washington went to Annapolis and resigned his command into the hands of Congress. In these closing days of the war Washington gave renewed evidence of his great and noble spirit. After Cornwallis's surrender he had led the army to Newburgh on the Hudson, where he held the forces together till peace was assured. The army had been neglected. The soldiers were unpaid, and Congress was making no provision for their payment. The soldiers were about to be dismissed to their homes, many of them to face want and destitution, their only pay being the memory of their vic-

The New-
burgh Ad-
dress.

tories and their scars. While the army was feeling the injustice and ingratitude of this treatment, an anonymous address was distributed among the soldiers,

urging them not to disband until they had forced payment for their claims. This meant a military revolution, and a king might have been set up. Washington opposed the proposal.

In a meeting of his officers he appealed to them to remember the liberty of their country and the honor of the service, and to have confidence in their government; and he promised to try

The soldiers
were dis-
satisfied,
but Wash-
ington
pacified
them.

to get fair pay for the soldiers. Washington himself had served without pay, receiving only his necessary expenses, and when he spoke of his growing both blind and gray in the service of the army, his appeal won the approval of all. Congress could

get no money; but it voted the soldiers full pay for five years in government certificates, and with these and their

Washington
retired to
Mount
Vernon.

arms, and the gratitude of their country, the Revolutionary soldiers went back to their homes to cultivate the arts of peace. Washington went to his

home at Mount Vernon, where, he said, he "would rather live in quiet retirement than to be the emperor of the world."

The states were now free and independent. It remained to be seen whether they could govern themselves and live in har-



MOUNT VERNON.

The home of Washington is situated in Virginia, a short distance from the city of Washington, on a beautiful spot overlooking the Potomac River. The place is neatly kept and the mansion contains many historical relics of great interest. From a recent photograph.

mony and union. They were now to enter upon another long, though peaceful, struggle for a central government.

FACTS AND DATES

1775. Meeting of Second Continental Congress, September 5. — Washington appointed Commander-in-chief, June 15. — Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17. — Montgomery and Arnold's Attack on Canada, November and December.
1776. The British evacuate Boston, March 17. — The British repulsed at Fort Moultrie, June 28. — Declaration of Independence, July 4. — Battle of Long Island, August 27. — Americans evacuate New York, September 16. — Battle of White Plains, October 28. — Washington retreats through New Jersey. — Washington's Victory at Trenton, December 26.
1777. Washington's Victory at Princeton, January 3. — Howe transfers his Army to Chesapeake Bay. — Battle of Brandywine, September 11. — Battle of Germantown, October 4. — Battle of Saratoga or Stillwater, October 7. — Burgoyne's Surrender, October 17. — Washington's Army at Valley Forge.
1778. The British capture Savannah, December 29. — The French Alliance, February 7. — George Rogers Clark's Expedition to the Northwest.
1779. The Americans are repulsed at Savannah. — The British conquer Georgia. — Wayne captures Stony Point.
1780. The British capture Charleston, May 12. — British Victory at Camden, August 16. — Arnold's Treason, September. — American Victory at King's Mountain, October 7. — General Greene takes Command in the South.
1781. Battle of Cowpens, January 17. — Greene's Retreat across North Carolina. — Battle of Guilford Court House, March 15. — Battle of Hobkirk's Hill, April 25. — Battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8. — Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown, October 19.
1782. Peace Negotiations.
1783. Washington takes leave of the Army. — The Newburgh Address. — Final Peace Treaty.

CHAPTER XII

THE OLD CONFEDERATION AND ITS FAILURE

192. The “Old Confederation” existed from 1781 to 1787.— When we speak of the “Old Confederation” in American history we mean the form of government for the United States which was in operation just before the adoption of the Constitution, from 1781 to 1787. This was a very weak government and it soon became necessary to set it aside. In this chapter we are to learn the reasons for its failure.

First, let us see when and how the “Old Confederation” was formed.

When the Continental Congress met at Philadelphia in September, 1774, to consider ways of opposing the offensive acts of the British Parliament, there was yet no political union among the colonies. The colonies were not independent of Great Britain, but they were independent of each other. The meeting called the “Continental Congress” was the means by which they were to act together until they could form a league of friendship or adopt some rules and regulations by which they could live in union with one another. They had stood by one another in the ten years of controversy with the mother country over taxation and other matters in dispute, and in 1775, when it was seen that Great Britain proposed to make war upon them to coerce them into submission, and that they would have to fight to defend their rights, they proposed to stand by one another more closely than before. Their delegates in Congress resolved on union as soon as they resolved on independence, because in their struggle for independence they wished to present a united front to their enemy and to the world, and they knew, as

Franklin said while they were signing the Declaration of Independence, that "they must all hang together or they would all hang separately."

On June 12, 1776, the day that a committee of the Continental Congress was appointed to draft a declaration of independence, another committee was appointed to draw up "Articles of Union" among the colonies. This committee, composed of one member from each colony, reported a plan of union called the "Articles of Confederation" (July 12, 1776). This plan of union was debated in Congress from time to time until its adoption on November 15, 1777. After it was adopted by Congress it was referred to the states for their acceptance, with the understanding that this union, or league of friendship, was not to go into force until every single state had given its consent; that is, had ratified the "Articles of Confederation." This was not done until March 1, 1781.

Articles of Union were adopted by Congress in 1777 and ratified by the states in 1781.

193. Reasons for Delay in forming the Union.— Thus, we see, the war for independence was nearly over before the states all agreed on a plan, or constitution, for their union. The reason for this delay was that there were several subjects of controversy upon which they could not readily agree.

In the first place, it was not easy to agree as to the method of voting in Congress. Should the states vote equally, each state having one vote, or should their votes be in proportion to their population or wealth? This question brought into view the fears and jealousies of the small states toward the large ones. The small states were afraid their rights and the liberty of their citizens would be endangered unless they had equal voting power in the union. They would consent to no union without an equality of states. This does not mean that they wanted the country carved up into new states equal in population and area, but that they wanted the small states to have equal political power with the large ones. It was to be a union of states, not of individuals. The small states gained this point.

1. Controversy over the method of voting in the Congress.

Another subject of dispute was, How shall the common expenses be distributed among the states? The small states insisted, of course, that expenses should not be borne equally, but in proportion to the wealth of the states. Benjamin Franklin thought that if the states voted equally they ought to pay equally, and he was sure the small states would not wish to purchase equal voting at that price. The small states got their way in this contention also, for it was finally decided that "in determining questions in Congress, each state shall have one vote; and that all expenses should be borne by the states in proportion to the value of their lands and houses." This plan for voting and assessing the common expenses on the states was a very poor one, and it soon broke down.

Another controversy that delayed the formation of the Union was over the regulation of commerce. New Jersey at first refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation because power was not given to Congress to pass "navigation acts"; that is, to regulate the foreign trade of the states and to determine import duties. Each state was allowed to regulate its own trade and fix its own port duties or tariffs. No state was allowed to collect a duty that would interfere with the treaties that it was hoped would be made with France and Spain. But with this exception each state was left free to do as it pleased with its trade laws. New Jersey's objection was a sound one, but she patriotically decided to forego this objection for a time and to ratify the Articles of Confederation, in order that the states might be able to avoid divisions and thus show Great Britain and the world that they were united in their struggle for independence.

Another cause that delayed the Union — the most important of all — was the controversy over the Western lands. Some of the states claimed that their western boundary extended to the "South Sea"; *i.e.* as far west as the continent extended. Others, like New Jersey and Maryland, had no such claim. These contended that

2. Con-
troversy
over the
distribution
of expenses.

3. Con-
troversy
over the
regulation
of com-
merce.

4. Con-
troversy
over the
Western
lands.

the boundary of each state should be definitely fixed, and that the vacant lands in the West — commonly called “crown lands” because they lay beyond the limits clearly recognized in the colonial charters — should be owned by the United States, and that this land should be used for paying the expenses of the war and for other common purposes. The Articles of Confederation made no provision for this, and Maryland held out and persistently refused to ratify the Articles of Union until the claiming states promised that the Western territory would be ceded to the United States government. In this Maryland performed a great service in the formation of the union, for the common ownership of the Western territory was afterwards a very important influence in promoting stronger union and nationality.

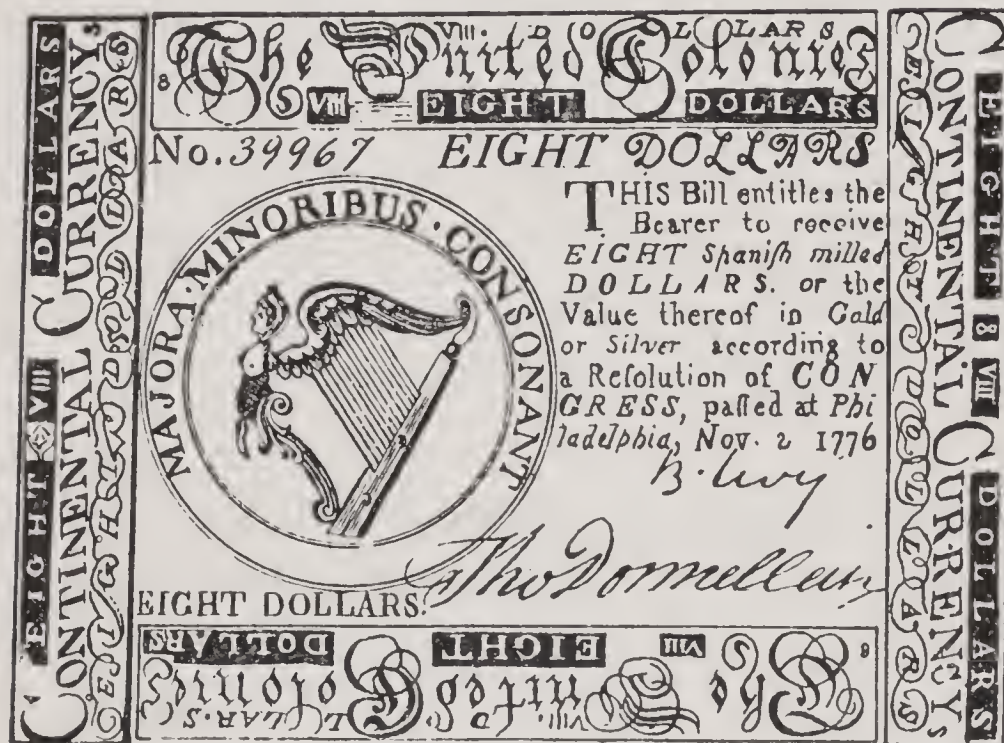
194. There was no Constitution for the Union under the Continental Congress. — Thus we see there was no common, or central, government for the states for seven years after they began to act together (1774–1781). The only government they had in common was that of the Continental Congress; but this body is not to be thought of as a regular government, or as a legislature with recognized powers. It had no powers conferred upon it. No constitution or convention created it or provided for it. There was no law to govern its action, no rule nor precedent for it to go by. It was an unconstitutional and revolutionary body. It was composed of delegates who had come together by appointment of rebellious colonies in order to consult about their dangers and grievances, and to plan how the colonies could best act together in defending their rights. Its members could deliberate and decide what was best to be done, and then advise the colonies all to stand together in carrying this out.

In some respects the Continental Congress acted like a national government, issuing bills of credit (continental money), organizing a post office, raising a continental army, appointing Washington to the chief command, declaring independence, and proceeding to make trea-

It was a revolutionary government.

The Revolution was conducted by coöperation.

ties with foreign nations. That is, in some very important and pressing matters, Congress proceeded to carry out its own decisions by its own agents, expecting to be sustained by the united support of all the states. The people of the various states were generally wise and patriotic enough to follow the direction and leadership of this assembly, or not to interfere



CONTINENTAL PAPER MONEY.

This at times became almost valueless.

midst of the dangers of the war, they allowed Congress, by common consent and good will, to conduct important government affairs in which they all had a common interest and which Congress could do so much better than the states could separately. Congress attended only to foreign affairs and the war, while on matters of government, of controlling their people, it merely *advised* the states. There was no central government with power to tax, arrest, and control the citizens of the states.

195. Government was attended to in the States. — But we must not think the people were without government during this period. They believed in law and order and the rights of property, and they intended to preserve these, although they were conducting a revolution by throwing off old governments and setting up new ones. But the governing of the people, — the legislatures they chose, the laws they obeyed, the taxes they

with its policies and decisions; for they believed that a congress like this, representing all the states and standing for united strength and action, could tell better than any one assembly what ought to be done and could do it better for all. So while they were arranging a plan of union and were in the

paid, the property and civil rights they secured, the officers and civil courts set over them, — all this was attended to within the states.

It was to the commonwealths of Virginia and Massachusetts that the people of those states looked for control and direction in the usual affairs of government. They did not think of looking to the Continental Congress. During this period (1776–1781) all the states adopted new constitutions, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, which retained the liberal charters which they had as colonies — Connecticut till 1818 and Rhode Island till 1842. These constitutions adopted by the representatives of the people in the several states created a complete government, separate and independent for each of the states. In doing this they were following the advice of the Continental Congress.

Many of these new state governments were only the old colonial governments modified to suit the new conditions. These had been in existence for over a hundred years. When independence had been declared and the royal power had been thrown off and the king's governor and legislature were no longer obeyed, the people of Massachusetts, for instance, felt that the supreme power that once abided in the king had fallen to the people of that state; the people of the state were now to be the source of power, of honors, appointments, and authority. It was so in the other states.

These new state governments began usually in "Provincial Congresses." As early as October, 1774, the House of Representatives in Massachusetts, which was elected by the people, broke off relations with Governor Gage, the royal governor, and organized itself as a "Provincial Congress." It organized a Committee of Safety and afterward a state government. In 1776 New Hampshire adopted the first state constitution, and by the close of 1777 all the states had separate, independent constitutions of government in working order. The most famous of these state constitutions was that of Virginia (adopted June 12, 1776), whose "bill of rights," written by George Mason, announced most of

New state
constitu-
tions are
adopted.

the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence. Virginia, declaring independence for herself, asserted that the powers of government are derived from the people and that rulers are only trustees and servants of the people; that government exists for the people's protection, and when the government is inadequate, the people have a right to alter or abolish it. Virginia's government and its principles became the model for many later state governments.

Each state in its constitution provided for the following:—

Provisions of the state constitu- tions.	(1) Civil liberty of its citizens, by a bill of rights.
	(2) Representative government, including three departments, — legislative, executive, and judicial.

(3) The legislature consisted of two houses; except in two of the states (Pennsylvania and Georgia) there was only one house. The principal powers in the state were vested in the legislature, and in most cases the governor and other administrative officers, as well as the judges, were chosen by it. All officers elected by the people generally had short terms.

(4) All these state constitutions provided modes of amendment and recognized that the supreme power such as could make a new constitution abided no longer in king and Parliament, but in the people of the state.

Thus we see that all this system of government within the states had been set up — or retained from colonial times — and

State govern- ments pre- ceded the Con- stitution.	was in full operation nearly four years before the plan of union (Articles of Confederation) for the states had gone into operation, and fully ten years before the Constitution of the United States was made.
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This will lead us to understand that the states made the Union, and that the Union did not make the states.

196. Defects of the Articles of Confederation. — Let us now see what kind of a government the Confederation was. This can best be understood by noticing its weaknesses and defects.

1. There was no executive power. There was no President to execute the laws. Congress had a Secretary for Foreign

Affairs, like Livingston and Jay, who sought to make treaties with foreign powers. It had a Secretary for Finance, ^{1. Lack of} like Robert Morris, but these men were mere agents ^{executive} of Congress and could only do what Congress had ^{power.} power to sanction.

2. There was no national judiciary. Men could not be tried in the national courts for violation of the laws. There were no national courts. Prize courts were erected to try ^{2. Lack of} cases in international law, like the capture of prizes ^{a judiciary.} at sea, in time of war. But all ordinary lawsuits were attended to in the states. As far as the Confederation was a government, all its powers were vested in one body, that is, in Congress.

3. The organization of Congress was defective. It consisted of a single house. Its debates were in secret. Its members were elected by the states, were paid by the states, could be recalled by the states, and they voted by states. ^{3. Defective} A state might have as many as seven delegates, but ^{organiza-} must have as many as two or lose its vote; and each ^{tion of} state, whether it had seven delegates or two, had but one vote. Thus Virginia or Pennsylvania counted for no more than Delaware or Rhode Island. Nine states were required to carry important measures. If only ten states were represented, as was frequently the case, and only two states voted against a measure, it was lost. So the minority could control the majority, or, at least, prevent action. It was to the interest of a state to keep its delegation small. A full Congress would have ninety-one members. Seldom were more than thirty in attendance.

4. Congress had no power to raise revenue. It could not collect a dollar by taxation. It had to depend entirely upon the states for money, or issue paper or borrow from ^{4. Lack of} foreign nations. The custom was to make an esti- ^{revenue} mate of how much would be needed within a certain ^{power.} time—say, eight million dollars. Then this amount was allotted by “requisitions,” or requests, among the several states, to be collected by them and paid into the United States treasury. The

states did as they pleased about paying, and they usually chose not to pay the amount asked for. So the Confederation could not pay its own debts. Foreign nations refused longer to trust our government. Even the Revolutionary soldiers could not be paid for their patriotic and self-sacrificing service, and they were given certificates, or promises to pay, which they had to sell at a great discount in order to get money to provide for their families.

A government cannot exist without revenue, and so a special effort was made to secure a "revenue amendment" to the Articles of Confederation, by which Congress was to be allowed to assess a small, uniform five per cent duty, or tariff, on imported goods, in order to pay our ally, France, what we owed and to pay the patriot soldiers what they had fairly earned. The consent of every state was required before any amendment to the Confederation could be obtained, and Rhode Island refused to give her consent. At another time New York refused, and Virginia withdrew her consent which she had already given. Remembering the Stamp Act, the people were afraid to allow any power outside the state to control or tax them. Virginia had said in her constitution of 1776 that it was unbecoming that any other government than that of the people of Virginia should be erected in that state. Richard Henry Lee said he would rather see the United States government "a rope of sand than a rod of iron." It was certainly at this time no better than a rope of sand. Lee spoke for those who feared tyranny and oppression and wanted the people of each state to govern and tax themselves entirely, and who, in a large degree, looked upon Congress as a foreign or outside power. Requisitions on the states proved a complete failure in raising revenue, and it was evident the Confederation would be broken up and the states fall apart if there were not a change.

5. In the next place, Congress had no power to regulate commerce. Commerce with foreign countries and between the states was under the control of the states. If Congress had

been given power to regulate commerce, it could have raised a revenue by import duties, but now these duties were paid into the treasuries of the states. The states were in rivalry, each trying to gain advantage in foreign trade over the others. Some sought free trade, others protection. Duties were levied on goods carried from state to state. Pennsylvania laid duties on more than one hundred articles, many of them the products of sister states. New York taxed garden truck and dairy products from New Jersey and firewood from Connecticut. These states tried to retaliate, and New Jersey taxed a New York lighthouse on the Jersey shore eighteen hundred dollars a year. This reminds us of the wise objection New Jersey had made in the first place. Madison said that state was "like a cask tapped at both ends," and North Carolina was "like a patient bleeding in both arms." These two states had no good seaports. The foreign goods their people used were brought in at New York, Philadelphia, or at the ports of neighboring states, and the tariff tax their people paid went into the treasuries of the states with good harbors.

5. Lack of power to regulate commerce.

States made selfish and unwise tariff laws.

So North Carolina, New Jersey, and Connecticut were especially anxious that the regulation of commerce should be placed in the hands of Congress and that the duties should be uniform in all the ports of the country. Without this power the states could not protect themselves against the trade restrictions of Great Britain and other countries. Before independence the colonies had a fair amount of free trade with the other parts of the British dominions; but now Great Britain cut them off from trading with the British West Indies and in other ways put restrictions on their trade, treating them as she treated other foreign nations. Thirteen independent state legislatures could not act together, except through Congress, in adopting a uniform trade policy that would bring better terms. Hard feelings were engendered toward Great Britain and bickerings and jealousies among the states. The need for a common regulation of commerce was one of the first causes leading to a new constitution.

The result of these conditions was financial and trade depression. People had to pay for their imports in gold and silver, and the country was being drained of its specie. The people had no money, they could find no market for their produce. There were hard times, and as is usual in such times a demand arose that paper money should be issued. There were riots and disorders in various parts of the country. Farm lands, cattle, and products were being taken for taxes and mortgages, and sometimes men were thrown into prison for debt. In western Massachusetts nearly two thousand men, mostly farmers, rose in insurrection, under Daniel Shays, a captain in the Revolutionary War. They sought to close the courthouses and stop suits against debtors, and they attacked the arsenal at Springfield. Governor Bowdoin acted with promptness, and the state militia under General Lincoln suppressed this insurrection after a few months (1786-1787). These Massachusetts farmers were not unpatriotic; they were not unruly anarchists by nature. They were good citizens, and with half a chance would have been law-abiding; but civilized men cannot live without buying and selling, and they cannot buy and sell without markets and money. The people were suffering from the lack of a uniform currency and of trade opportunities, which Congress ought to have been able to provide.

6. This insurrection and these disorders illustrated another defect of the Confederation. Congress could not enforce order. It could not command the service of a single soldier or do anything to command obedience or enforce a law. It had no force or authority even to protect itself against insult. Congress was driven by a band of mutinous soldiers from Philadelphia to Princeton. It was seen that if an insurrection occurred within a state too powerful for the state authorities to overcome, the general government could not come at the call of the state to render aid. These dangers alarmed men of ability and property, and when they saw that there was no hope of amending the government, since

Financial
depression
and hard
times lead
to Shays's
Rebellion.

6. Lack of
power to
enforce
order.

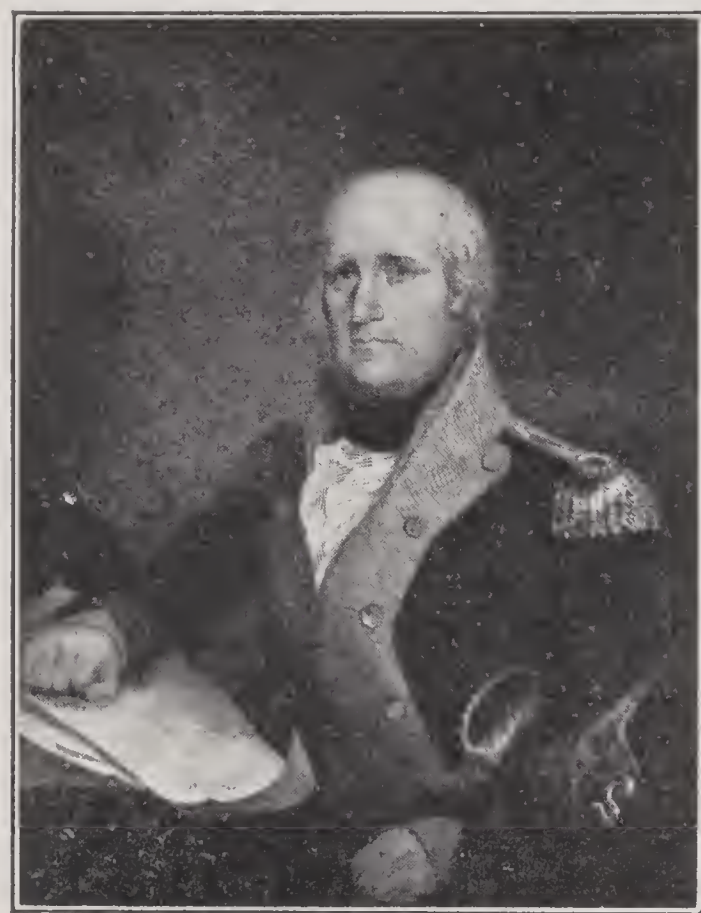
it was required that every state should give its consent before an amendment could be in force, they saw that a new government was necessary. The general government could do nothing to provide for domestic tranquillity or promote the general welfare.

197. The Nation is a Growth, not a Sudden Creation. — So we see that the government of the United States, before the Constitution was adopted, was purely a confederate government, a mere league, or band, of states. "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power not expressly delegated to Congress." So stated the Articles of Confederation. This was agreed to by all when the Confederation was formed. The truth is, the people distrusted power outside of the states. The states were supreme. The feeling of unity and nationality had not yet grown among the people; so it was impossible that it should be represented in their central government. That government represented *union*, but not nationality; it stood for the states united, — loosely united, — but not for the *United States* as a nation, such as we know to-day. A union of states is not a nation. The nation had yet to grow. It was not created at a single time by any single act. It grew from year to year, and it took two generations, nearly eighty years, before it was made certain by the Civil War that we had any nation at all. The Declaration of Independence made a new nation possible by making dependent colonies into independent states. The old Confederation was an important step toward a more perfect union. What the Constitution did in the making of the nation we have now to see.

198. Ordinance of 1787. — But before we leave the Congress of the Confederation we must notice the famous Ordinance of 1787 (July 13), one of the greatest pieces of legislation in American history. It provided a government for the Northwest Territory which became a model for the governments of almost all subsequent territories.

The Northwest Territory embraced the land west of the orig-

inal states, north of the Ohio River, and east of the Mississippi, including (besides a small part of Minnesota) the present great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The Western lands came into possession of the states (not of the United States) by the treaty of peace of 1783. South of the Ohio there was no dispute as to ownership, each state — Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia — receiving what was immediately



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

The daring frontier fighter was born in Virginia in 1752 and died in Kentucky in 1818. "His great services to his country in making the frontiers a safe dwelling place were overlooked by his countrymen, and he died in poverty and obscurity."

over to the general government. In order to induce the claiming states to do this, Congress passed a famous resolution (October, 1780) guaranteeing that this land should be "held for the common benefit of all, and be erected into republican states, which shall become members of the Federal Union." Here was the wise principle set forth for the treatment of territories on which

back of it to the Mississippi. But north of the Ohio there were conflicting claims. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia each claimed a portion.

Virginia's claim was the largest and strongest. It was based on an early charter of 1609, and on the expedition of George Rogers Clark (1778-1779), who captured Kaskaskia and Vincennes and gained military possession of the country.

New Jersey and Maryland, as we have seen (§ 193), refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation and come into the Union until it had been agreed that the western lands would be given

The principle of our territorial policy was to erect the territories into states.

Congress has ever since acted. It has done much to extend and build up our great republic.

The states were induced to relinquish their claims. Connecticut reserved a strip in Ohio south of Lake Erie till 1800, known as the "Western Reserve." All the states then had a common interest in the territory. Congress could then sell the land to settlers and use the money to pay the national debt. In 1785 (May 20) a land ordinance suggested by Jefferson was passed which was the beginning of our public land system. The western territory was to be divided into townships six miles square, each township into thirty-six sections, and one section was to be reserved for school purposes. Here was the foundation of the congressional school fund of the Western states. In

The Ordinance of 1784.

1784 Jefferson introduced into Congress a plan for the government of this territory. This prohibited slavery after 1800. In 1786 the "Ohio Company" of Revolutionary veterans was formed in Boston. They planned to settle in the West, and to buy from Congress, through their agent, Manasseh Cutler, more than a million acres of land, if the laws and institutions of the new country were made to suit the settlers. Congress needed money and had land to sell, and the great Ordinance of 1787 was passed providing that the Northwest should be kept free from slavery, that there should be freedom of religion, that education should be encouraged, and that the civil liberty of the inhabitants should be guaranteed.

CHAPTER XIII

MAKING THE CONSTITUTION

199. The Regulation of Commerce had Much to do with the Making of the Constitution.— It was the defects of the Confederation that led to the adoption of the Constitution. The two most pressing needs of the government were the power to levy duties and the power to regulate commerce. The struggle for uniform commercial regulations was the immediate occasion of bringing about the Constitutional Convention. The leading men, like Washington, Madison, and Hamilton, saw clearly that Congress must have control over commerce and that this would never be given by the separate action of the states. Madison proposed a motion in the Virginia Legislature for a convention to consider the whole subject of commerce. His motion was not passed at first, but Virginia and Maryland appointed commissioners to consider trade on the Potomac.

These commissioners met in 1785, and they saw that both states must have the same laws for trade on the Potomac and the Chesapeake, and that a uniform currency was also necessary. Maryland saw that Pennsylvania and Delaware were also interested in a common trade agreement. These states also had neighbors. So it was suggested by Maryland that all the states should send delegates to a trade conference. Then Madison got the Virginia legislature to pass his motion calling a meeting of the states. Thus Virginia again took the lead. This convention met at Annapolis in September, 1786. Only five states were represented—New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia. Madison and Hamilton were there, and they saw the convention had no power, except about trade, and it could not do much even on that subject. So they had a com-

The
Annapolis
Convention
prepares
the way.

Mount Vernon Sep^r 25th 1785.

Dear Sir,

Amid the public gratulations on your safe return to America, after a long absence, and the many eminent services you have rendered it - for which as a benefited person I feel the obligation - permit an individual to join the public voice in expressing his sense of them; and to assure you, that as no one entertains more respect for your character, so none can salute you with more sincerity, or with greater pleasure than I do on the occasion.

I am - Dear Sir

Y^r Most Obed^t and

Most Aff^l Serv^t

G. Washington

The Hon^{ble}

Doct^r Franklin.

WASHINGTON'S GREETINGS TO FRANKLIN UPON THE LATTER'S RETURN FROM FRANCE IN 1785.

The wording of the letter shows the courtliness of Washington, and the handwriting indicates the great care with which he did things. The writing is somewhat reduced in size.

mittee appointed to draw up an address to the states, calling another convention "to devise such provisions as would satisfy the needs of the Union." Madison and Hamilton probably had greater designs in mind than they dared reveal.

200. The Constitutional Convention meets, 1787. — Congress approved this plan, and a call was issued for a convention of all the states to meet in Philadelphia, in May, 1787.

This was the greatest convention that ever assembled in America. It was composed of the wise and able men who made our Constitution, which Gladstone called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The Convention contained many of the ablest men in the United States.

Washington, Madison, Mason, and Randolph were there from Virginia; Hamilton, Lansing, and Yates from New York; Franklin, Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris from Pennsylvania; King, Gerry, Gorham, and Strong from Massachusetts; Dickinson from Delaware; Patterson from New Jersey; Martin from Maryland; Sherman, Ellsworth, and Johnson from Connecticut; Rutledge and the Pinckneys from South Carolina; and Davie from North Carolina. Jefferson was in France, John Adams in England, John Jay was Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and other able men, like Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams, did not believe in such a convention. Of the fifty-five members more than half were college graduates; many were able lawyers; some had signed the Declaration of Independence; nearly all were experienced in politics. The oldest member was Franklin, who was eighty-one; among the young members was Hamilton, who was thirty. Twelve states were represented, but most of the time only eleven states. New Hampshire came late, and Rhode Island did not come at all.

The Convention held its debates in secret, after the manner of governing bodies in those days. Seven states made a quorum, and each state had one vote; if a state delegation was evenly divided, its vote was lost. Washington was made president, no other name being thought of except Franklin's.

Rules of the Convention.

Madison, who was called the “Father of the Constitution,” came to the Convention resolved to preserve a record of its debates, because he had not been able to find in history any good account of the reasons given for forming other federal governments. He took a seat near the center of the hall, attended every day, took notes of what the members said, and sat up at night to write out these notes. It cost him great pains and labor, but in this way Madison preserved a “Journal of the Convention,” one of the greatest services any man ever rendered to his country. Fifty years later, in 1836, when Madison died (and after all the other members of the Convention were dead), his widow, Dolly Madison, wrote to President Jackson calling attention to this “Journal” which her husband had left to her in his will. President Jackson secured an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars from Congress and bought the “Journal” and other Madison papers. It was then published, and it is the most important single volume on American history. It tells how this great Convention carried on its work and what the members said.

201. A New Government was made.—The Convention had been called “to amend the Articles of Confederation,” but it threw these aside and made a new Constitution instead. It thus acted beyond its powers, and some, for this reason, have called its action a revolution. Its members, however, were wise enough to erect a worthy standard and, although they could not adopt anything themselves, they would *propose* to the states what they saw was necessary. The sources from which they drew the Constitution were the constitution and government of England, the constitutions of the various states, their experience in the colonies and in the Confederation, and their knowledge of law and the science of government. Not very much that was new, that was “struck off at a given time,” was put in the Constitution; everything was the result of experience.

202. Difficulties of the Convention.—There were many problems to solve; there were hot debates, and on several occa-

sions the Convention almost broke up in serious conflicts of opinion. Franklin by his genial wit and good stories kept pouring oil on the troubled waters. He said he had lived long

enough to learn that "God governs in the affairs of men," and at one time he asked that the Convention be opened with prayer for divine guidance; and when the members showed hot tempers Franklin reminded them that it was light,

not heat, that was ^{Franklin} wanted, that they ^{was a peace-maker.}

"had come together to consult not to contend"; that the members should do what they could to enlighten and convince one another, but expressing fixed opinions with determination never to change them would not help along any. When a cabinet-maker, Franklin said, wanted to fit two boards together, he had to plane a little off each edge; so, now, each side would have to give way a little in order to fit together all the pieces of the new government. It was

this spirit of mutual concession and compromise that held the Convention together and enabled it to make a Constitution.

203. Compromises. — The Constitution has been called a "series of compromises." There were three notable struggles and compromises in the Convention.

1. The large states wanted to form a national government



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

The "Sage of the Constitutional Convention" was born in Boston in 1706. He was a printer and editor and later became famous in literary, scientific, political, and diplomatic lines. He was a many-sided man. He organized the first fire company in Philadelphia, drilled troops for the Revolution, founded the first public library in America, as well as the first scientific society, invented the lightning rod, and the Franklin stove, which he declined to patent, and did many other things for the public good. He died in Philadelphia in 1790.

with an executive and judiciary, with two houses of Congress, with direct representation of the people, and proportional representation in both houses. "Proportional representation" meant that the number of votes a state was to have in Congress should depend upon its population or its wealth. They would not abolish the states, but they would erect a national government and would subordinate the states to the nation. This was the "Virginia Plan." Some of the

Between the large states and the small.
The large states wanted a strong government.
large state party, like Hamilton, were in favor of a very strong government. Hamilton would have the President and the Senate appointed for life or good behavior, the governors of the states appointed by Congress, and the laws of the states to be vetoed by Congress when they were not in harmony with the general welfare. This would have made a much more centralized government.

The small states wanted a loose one, or a league.
The small states wanted a loose one, or a league.
power. They were willing to give more power to Congress, — power to regulate commerce, to raise money, and to "coerce" any state that would not pay its federal obligations; but the *nature* of the government was not to be changed. It was to remain a confederate government: the states, not the people, were to be the sources of its power; it was to operate only through the states, not on the people directly. This was the "New Jersey Plan." The "series of compromises" were chiefly between these two "plans," or ideas.

The bone of contention was proportional representation.
The small states wanted "equal," while the large states wanted "proportional," representation.
This would tend to nationalize the government. It would give Virginia sixteen votes to Delaware's one. The large state party won at first and carried proportional representation in both houses. The small state men then got together in caucus and let it be understood that they would not "federate" on such a plan; they would break up the Convention first. They felt that their statehood and their liberties would

be "swallowed up" by a combination of three or four large states which would be able to control everything. Dickinson, who was from a small state, but who was a "friend to an efficient federal government," told Madison it was "carrying things too far," and one member said they would "take a foreign power by the hand" before they would submit to it. Some of the men from the large states yielded, and the "Connecticut Compromise," proposed by Ellsworth and Johnson from that state, was agreed to, by which there was to be proportional representation in the lower house of Congress but equal representation in the Senate. Thus the form of the Senate came out of this struggle. Each state was given two votes in that body, and the small states having obtained this point were the quickest to adopt the new Constitution.

2. The next great compromise was between the slave states and the free. The question arose as to whether the slaves should be counted in allotting representatives and taxes among the states. The South wanted to count them for representatives, but not for taxes. The North took exactly the opposite view. It was agreed that "taxation and representation ought to go together." That was the principle of the Revolution. In 1783 Congress had agreed to a revenue amendment to the Confederation, assessing expenses on the states in proportion to population, counting three fifths of the slaves. This had passed Congress, but it was not ratified by the states. Madison and Wilson now called this old agreement to the attention of the Convention, and it was agreed that "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states according to numbers," counting all free persons, those bound to service (apprentices and indented servants) and "three fifths of all other persons" (meaning slaves), but excluding Indians, who were not taxed. This was the famous "three-fifths compromise," which had more influence on our subsequent history than any of the others.

Between
the slave
states and
the free.

The three-
fifths com-
promise.

3. The third important compromise was over the slave trade

and the regulation of commerce. Most of the states wanted to abolish the slave trade, but Georgia and South Carolina gave notice that they would not adopt the Constitution if this were done. The commercial states, especially those in New England, wanted Congress to have power to regulate commerce by a majority vote. The plantation slave states would have this done only by a two-thirds vote of Congress, and they would have no interference with their exports. New England and the North finally agreed that the slave trade should be left open till 1808, and the South agreed that Congress might regulate trade by a majority vote, but no duties should ever be levied on exports.

204. Signing and Ratifying the Constitution. — The majority of the Convention were at last able to agree to the Constitution, though it was not exactly what any one wanted, and some of the members, like Randolph, Mason, and Gerry, refused to sign it. It was finally signed by thirty-nine members, delegates from twelve states. When it was signed it was referred to Congress, and Congress submitted it to the states for acceptance or rejection. Each state was free to do as it pleased about ratifying, but ratification was to be, not by the state legislatures, but by state conventions, called especially for that purpose. This made the Constitution more national, as it came, not from the state governments, but from the same power that made the state governments, the people themselves in the several states. Most of the small states soon ratified, but in some of the large states, notably in New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia, there were hard contests. Hamilton, Madison, and Jay published a series of articles in a newspaper explaining and defending the Constitution. These essays are now collected in a book called *The "Federalist."* the "Federalist," and it is one of the best works ever written on the Constitution and the science of government. Of the eighty-five papers Hamilton wrote fifty, Madison thirty, and Jay five — Jay writing on the subjects relating to treaties and foreign affairs.

Hamilton defended the Constitution in the New York conven-

tion, Madison and Marshall in Virginia, and King and Gorham in Massachusetts. Patrick Henry and George Clinton and many other patriotic men opposed it. They did not like it because it changed the character of the government; it said "We, the people," instead of "We, the states," indicating the source from which the Constitution came; they were afraid the new government would become too strong, that the President might become a king, that the rights of the states would be interfered with and the people would be oppressed. Some of the states would not ratify until they were sure amendments would be added including a "bill of rights," such as the state constitutions contained, guaranteeing protection to the life, liberty, and property of the people. The first Congress added this "bill of rights" in the first eight amendments. They were soon ratified by the states, and they may be regarded as a part of the original Constitution, together with the ninth and tenth amendments, which say that Congress shall exercise only those powers that are delegated to it in the Constitution and that "all other powers are reserved to the states." Thus the states guarded their rights.

Objections to ratifying the Constitution.

The "bill of rights" was soon added.

205. The Constitution goes into Operation. — The Constitution was to go into operation when nine states had ratified it. New Hampshire was the ninth state (June 21, 1788), and the "federal arch" was completed. North Carolina and Rhode Island did not ratify until after the Constitution went into operation, and for nearly two years Rhode Island was not under the laws of the Union.

The Constitution was a beginning, not an end. The first experiment at union had failed. A new experiment was now to be tried, and the good ship, the *Constitution*, was now not entering the harbor, but was being launched for a trial trip.

FACTS AND DATES IN THE GROWTH OF THE UNION AND THE FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

1774. First Continental Congress.

1775. Second Continental Congress.

FACTS AND DATES (Continued)

- 1775-1781. Revolutionary Government of the Continental Congress.
- 1776-1780. Formation of State Constitutions.
1776. Committee of Congress appointed to draft Articles of Union, June 12.
Committee reported July 12.
1777. Articles of Confederation adopted by Congress and referred to the States, November 15.
1781. Articles of Confederation went into Operation, upon Maryland's Ratification, March 1.
- 1780-1786. Cession of Northwest Territory by Claimant States.
- 1781-1783. Attempts to amend the Articles of Confederation.
1784. Jefferson's Northwest Ordinance.
1785. Beginning of Public Land System and Congressional Township School Fund.
1786. Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts. — The Breakdown of the Confederation. — The Annapolis Convention.
1787. Constitutional Convention, May-September. — Ordinance for the Northwest Territory.
1788. Ratification of the Constitution by the States. — The "Federalist" Essays. — Hamilton, Madison, and Jay defend the Constitution.
1789. The Constitution goes into Operation. — Washington becomes President.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

206. The Constitution remedied the Defects of the Confederation.

— We have studied the government of the Old Confederation and we have seen how the Constitution was made. Let us now see what kind of government the new Constitution established.

The new Constitution remedied the defects of the Confederation in various ways : —

1. Three departments of government were created instead of one, — a two-house Legislature to make the laws, an Executive to enforce the laws, and a Judiciary to interpret the laws, with courts to try citizens for offenses. We are to study each of these departments.

2. The limitations placed on the powers of the states could now be enforced and some new limitations were imposed : These limitations would prevent the states from interfering with the work of the central government.¹

3. The powers necessary to make the central government effective were added : —

(*a*) To make uniform commercial regulations and port duties.

(*b*) To raise revenue by taxation.

(*c*) To coin money and provide a uniform currency.

(*d*) To enforce its own laws through the courts and by its own executive power.

Let us try to understand more fully the deep meaning and importance of this law-enforcing power.

207. A New Citizenship and a New Allegiance are created. —

The great problem in making the Constitution was to retain the states, and allow them to do their proper work, and at the

¹ Note the things the Constitution says a state may not do, Appendix, pp. xxviii, xxix.

same time to create a central government with power to do its proper work. To do this it was necessary to have two real governments for the people of every state, each in its own sphere, each supporting the other, and neither interfering with

the other's affairs. This meant a double citizenship for each individual. So the important thing to notice is, that citizens of the states were made also citizens of the United States and the United States was thus given a *real* government with power to make and execute laws by its own authority. It was no longer to live by the grace of the states. Officials, both state and national, were now required to swear to support the Constitution and government of the United States. This had not been required before. The people now recognized a new allegiance and a new treason.

208. The United States enforces its Own Laws through its Own Courts. — The necessary power for the new government did not come from giving to the United States the power to coerce a state or to veto the acts of the states. Both of these powers were proposed, but were denied in the Convention. But the new

power came from making the "Constitution and the laws and treaties made in pursuance thereof the supreme law of the land," to be enforced in the courts just as the state law was enforced. This was the great work of the Convention. It made vetoing a state law or coercing a state unnecessary. If now a state passes an act contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States, the courts declare it unconstitutional. It is no law at all, and no one is bound by it. If the government or the citizens of a state attempt to resist the laws of the United States, the United States Government proceeds, not to coerce a state, but to suppress its own citizens in rebellion or insurrection.

This was what occurred in the Civil War. A conflict arose between the two citizenships, or the two allegiances. Some men in the South, like General Scott and General Thomas, of Virginia, thought their allegiance to the nation was the higher, but most

There are
two citizen-
ships in the
United
States.

The essen-
tial feature
of the new
government.
Making the
Constitution
"the su-
preme law
of the land"
enables it to
work and
overcome
state opposi-
tion.

of the Southern people thought their state allegiance was the higher. The states were not coerced, nor destroyed, nor any of their rights taken away; but their citizens, who were also citizens of the United States, were compelled to acknowledge their allegiance to the United States government, or to the nation. They could not be released from that even by the command of the state. The Convention of 1787 did not clearly recognize this kind of conflict nor provide for it, but it is now recognized that this is the kind of government we have under the Constitution. Its powers derived directly from the people may be used directly over the people to compel obedience. So the *very nature* of the power was different from anything the Confederation had known. The change was not so much in the number of powers that were added, as in the nature of the power that was created. This was the power of the *nation*.

209. The States are Supreme in their Own Sphere. — But while new powers were added to the central government and many were denied to the states, and the very nature of the central power was changed, we must not suppose that the nation is supreme in all affairs of government. The laws of the states are supreme in all things that belong to the states; the laws of the United States are supreme in all things that belong to the nation. Each government, state and national, is supreme in its place. The Constitution fixes the place and assigns the powers for both state and nation. The Supreme Court by unfolding the meaning of the Constitution seeks to keep each government in its own place. The national government possesses only those powers which it can be shown from the Constitution the people have conferred upon it, and no more. All the rest of the powers of government belong to the states. The states may exercise all powers they are not specifically forbidden to exercise.

The United States Government exercises powers granted to it in the Constitution.

The general restrictions of the Constitution do not apply to the states, but only to the national government. If a state is to be prevented from passing a certain kind of law or exercising

a power, the word *state* must appear in the language prohibiting the act. For example, the Constitution says, "No *ex post facto* law shall be passed." An *ex post facto* law is one which makes a man's act a crime and punishable which was not a crime when it was committed, or which changes the penalty of a crime after its commission. The language of the Constitution, quoted above, prevents the United States from passing such a law, but it does not prevent any of the states from doing so. To prevent the state, it was necessary to say in the Constitution, "No state shall pass an *ex post facto* law." So the general government may do only those things which the Constitution says it may do, while the states may do all things which they are not specifically forbidden to do. Thus the states have many powers — more than can be named — and important rights, which it is the duty of the nation to respect and defend.

The states
exercise all
remaining
powers not
prohibited.

A few definitions and explanations of the forms of government may help the student to understand the character of the American Republic. There have been three different forms of government in history.

Forms of
Govern-
ment.

Monarchy is the form in which the power is vested in a single ruler. If the ruler's powers are unlimited by law, or by a constitution, if he can govern at his own will without restraint, it is an unlimited or absolute monarchy. Russia and Turkey are the only countries in Europe of this kind. If the ruler is restrained by a constitution, it is a limited or constitutional monarchy. Great Britain is a good illustration of this kind of government, where the king is bound by the law and the constitution.

Aristocracy is a government of a few, supposed to be of the best citizens. The few who rule are generally hereditary nobles, or landholders, or rich men. If it is a government merely of the rich it is a *Plutocracy*. If the few govern only in their own interest, as they are likely to do, it is an *Oligarchy*.

Democracy is a government by the people. A *pure* Democ-

racy can exist only in city states, or in very small areas, for the people cannot get together to make the laws in a country of great extent.

A *Republic* is a form of government in which the people rule through their representatives. France and the United States are republics, but France is a *Centralized Republic*, while the United States is a *Federal Republic*. From 1781 to 1789, under the Confederation, the United States was a *Confederate Republic*. Let us see the difference between these three kinds of Republics.

A *Confederate Republic* is a mere league of smaller republican states, bound together for certain purposes. The members of such a league are not individual men, but the states. It deals with and acts upon the states only. With the individual citizen it has nothing to do, no right of taxing him, or judging him, or making laws for him. Such was the old government of 1781, and it was this kind the South attempted to establish in 1860 to 1865.

A *Centralized Republic* is one in which all governmental powers are vested in one legislature, and all its people are considered as in one political community to be governed from a common center. Its country may be divided into provinces or counties, but these are created and could be abolished by the central government, and they exist for its convenience, that the laws and policies of the central government may be more conveniently carried out. The state of Ohio can subdivide its counties, or combine two or three counties into one; it can determine what powers its counties, townships, and cities shall exercise, what officers they shall have and how these officers shall be elected. Any political division, or community, in the state is dependent for its powers and its very life on the central, or sovereign, authority of the state. Therefore the state of Ohio (considered alone) may be spoken of as a *Centralized Republic*, or a *Consolidated Republic*.

A *Federal Republic*, like the United States, stands between these two. It is not merely a union of states, but it is a nation made by a union of states. Its component parts are individual

citizens, and it claims the direct obedience of its citizens and acts directly upon them by its laws and officers. But its states are not mere subdivisions of the Union, mere creatures of the national government, as are the counties of a state. No state can be subdivided, nor two states combined, without their consent. The states have powers, rights, and authority of their own which existed years before the federal government was created and which that government has no right to take away. In 1861 the South said that the Constitution of 1787 left the United States a confederacy, as they had been from 1781 to 1787, in which the states were supreme and could decide on their own destiny. The North said that a *federal nation* had been created, with power to enforce its own laws, and that even the command of a state could not release a citizen from his allegiance to the nation.

The word *national* was not put in the Constitution. It was proposed in the Convention but was discarded, and for this and various other reasons it was not clear that the Convention of 1787 intended to make a national government. Many of its members desired such a government, and some thought such a government had been formed, while others thought not. The interpretation of the Constitution, the course of events, and especially the Civil War have decided the question, and all recognize that we now have a *National Federal Republic*.



WHITE HOUSE, EAST VIEW.

CHAPTER XV

THE PRESIDENT

210. Single or Plural Executive.—The Presidency was created by the Convention of 1787. Under the Old Confederation there was no President. There were disputes in the Convention about many things, but all agreed that the new government must have a chief executive to execute the laws. This is the principal duty of the President.

Some of the members of the Convention were afraid to give this important duty to one man. Mr. Randolph thought that would be the beginning of monarchy. He said, “A single magistrate would never secure the confidence of the people,” but would be “too much like the English king,” and that the people would reject the plan on this account. He wanted a plural executive, *i.e.* an executive council of three or five. Mr. Wilson thought since all the thirteen states, agreeing in scarcely anything else, agreed in placing their executive power in the hands of a single governor, that they would not object to having a single president; that energy, unity, dispatch, and responsibility would be promoted by a single executive. The majority of the Convention agreed with Wilson, and *one* man, not several men, was made responsible for executing the laws.

211. Term of Office.—The President’s term was fixed at four years, and he was made eligible for reëlection. Some favored six years, some seven, some ten, and Hamilton would have made the Presidency a life office. Hamilton was not democratic, and he wanted a strong government.

No President has ever been elected for more than two terms.

Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson might have been reëlected for third terms, if they had chosen to be, but Washington set the example of but two terms and the others followed; and it is now almost a fixed custom, a law of the unwritten Constitution, that no President is eligible for a third term. Many think it would be better if the President could be elected for only one term, say for six years; then he would not be tempted to use the power and patronage of his office to secure a second election.

By custom a President is limited to two terms.

212. Method of Electing the President. — The Convention had a hard time in deciding how the President should be elected. Several ways were proposed, — by both houses of Congress, by the Senate, by the governors of the states, by the people directly, by electors chosen in districts of states, and even by lot, — a blindfolded page to draw a name from a list selected by Congress. It seems strange so many ways were seriously thought of. It was finally decided to have each state appoint electors in any manner the state legislature may choose, these

The electoral college chooses the President.

electors to meet in their respective state capitals and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, “one of whom shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves.” The whole body of these electors are called the *electoral college*. Each state has as many electors as it has senators and representatives in Congress. Every state has at least three because it is a state, and then as many more as its population entitles it to. New York, the most populous state, has thirty-nine; Pennsylvania, thirty-four; Indiana, fifteen. Until the twelfth amendment was adopted (1804) the electors put two names on their ballots without indicating which was intended for President and which for Vice President. A majority vote was required to elect the President, but the “next highest number,” whether a majority or not, would elect the Vice President. The twelfth amendment changed this. The electors must now designate whom they want for President, and a majority is also required to elect the Vice President.

Congress may determine the time for choosing the electors and also the time for their meeting to choose the President. The popular election is now held every fourth year on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. The electors meet to choose the President on the second Monday in January, and the two houses meet together to count the electoral vote on the second Wednesday in February.

Congress
may fix the
time for
choosing the
electors.

The state legislatures determine the *method* of choosing the electors. It may be by the legislature itself or by the people directly on a common ticket, or by the people in districts as they elect the representatives; or the legislature might even authorize the governor to appoint them. Originally, they were elected in various ways. In many states the legislatures elected them till Jackson's time (1829), and in South Carolina this was the case until the Civil War. Now in all the states the electors are chosen by the people on a common ticket.

State legis-
latures de-
termine the
method.

Michigan tried the "district plan" as late as 1892, and this was constitutional, but it was done for party purposes, as the party in control of the state at the time knew it could carry some of the districts but could not carry the whole state. The district plan seems more popular and democratic than the common ticket plan; for it seems hardly fair when a party carries a state by a very small majority that it should have *all* the electors from that state and the other party should have none. There are over 1,200,000 votes in New York. If one party has 601,000 and the other 600,000, it seems unfair to give all the thirty-nine votes of New York to one party, while the minority party could carry at least seventeen or eighteen districts. But by having all the voters vote for all the electors on one ticket the state can go solid for one candidate. This preserves statehood and allows the state to count for more in the election. It also makes the parties fight harder to carry a large, doubtful state, like New York, and to try to get a ticket that will carry that state.

The Michi-
gan plan, or
choosing the
electors by
districts,
1892.

Of course the electors do not really choose the President. He has already been nominated by the party and chosen by the people before the electors meet. But the framers of the Constitution expected the electors to do the choosing. They did not think the people were competent to elect the President. Gerry said the people would be "the dupes of demagogues," and Mason said it would be like "referring the choice of colors to a blind man," to let the people choose. It was thought they would not know what men were fit to be President. The plan was to let the states choose some men wiser than the people, who would meet and select the President. This plan broke down before the third election in 1796, and ever since then the electors have been expected to vote for their party candidate already chosen. They are not free to vote for whom they please, but are mere agents to ratify an election already made. It would be perfectly legal for an elector to vote for some other candidate, but it would be a base betrayal of a party trust for him to do so, and the people would universally condemn him. This is another law of the unwritten Constitution that an elector must vote for his party candidate for whom he has been elected to vote.

The electoral college, which has been such a failure, was adopted to avoid popular election on the one hand and election by Congress on the other. It was thought to be dangerous to allow Congress to elect the President, for this would subject the Executive to the Legislative, and it was thought essential to good government for the three departments, or divisions, of government — Executive, Legislative, and Judicial — to be separate and distinct.

But in case the electoral college fails to elect, if no candidate gets a majority, then the House of Representatives elects the President and the Senate elects the Vice President. For this purpose the House votes by states, each state having one vote. This is a confederate, not a national, method of voting. Only the three highest on the list

The electors are not free to vote for whom they please.

Why the electoral college was adopted.

Final election by the House of Representatives.

may be voted for. Jefferson, in 1801, and John Quincy Adams, in 1825, were elected in this way.

213. Qualifications of the President. — The President and the Vice President must be native-born citizens of the United States, thirty-five years of age, and have been for fourteen years residents within the United States. “Citizens of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution” were made eligible. This was done to include such men as Hamilton, Wilson, and Robert Morris, who were foreign-born, but who helped to make the Constitution, and who rendered great services to the country. All these and their colleagues have long since passed away.

214. How the President is Removable. — The President is removable only by impeachment. The House brings the charges, the Senate tries the case, the Chief Justice presides, and it requires a two-thirds vote to convict. If the President is found guilty of the charges brought against him, he may be removed from office and disqualified from again holding office under the United States. President Johnson is the only President ever tried by impeachment, and he was not found guilty.

215. Vacancy in the Presidency. — The President’s office may be vacated by death or disability, by impeachment, or by resignation. The Vice President would then succeed to the office. He is elected by the same method, and he must have the same qualifications as the President. The Vice President has two functions to perform, — to preside over the Senate and (in the emergency) to succeed to the Presidency.

The Vice President may succeed the President.

If a Vice President who has succeeded to the Presidency should die in office, the law of 1792 provided that the President *pro tempore* of the Senate should become President, and if *he* should die, the Speaker of the House should come next. The objection to this was that it would make a man President who had been elected by Congress, or by one of its houses, and he might be a man of a different party from that of the man chosen by the people, and this would

The Presidential succession.

lead to a reversal of the policies the people had voted for. For these reasons a change was made by the Presidential Succession Act of 1886, by which, after the President and Vice President the members of the Cabinet succeed to the Presidency, — the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and so on, in the order of the creation of the departments down to the time of the act, which does not include the later departments of Agriculture and of Commerce and Labor.

216. The Cabinet. — The Cabinet consists of the heads of the Executive Departments, who act as advisers of the President. They are as follows: —

The Secretary of State (1789).

The Secretary of the Treasury (1789).

The Secretary of War (1789).

The Secretary of the Navy (1798).

The Postmaster-General (1829).

The Secretary of the Interior (1849).

The Attorney-General (1870).¹

The Secretary of Agriculture (1889).

The Secretary of Commerce and Labor (1903).

The President appoints these officers, the Senate never refusing to confirm the men the President wants. He is given a “free hand” in choosing his “official family.” The Cabinet officers should be in pretty close personal relations with the President.

The Cabinet is not mentioned in the Constitution. It only says, “The President may require the opinion *in writing* of the principal officer in each department.” Washington generally consulted the members of his Cabinet individually; the Cabinet did not often meet. The President may follow the advice of his

¹ The Attorney-General was a member of the Cabinet from the organization of the government in 1789, but the Department of Justice over which he presides was not organized until 1870.

Cabinet officer or not, just as he chooses. The President is responsible for the policy of his administration, and if his Cabinet members cannot agree with him in carrying this out they must resign, as Tyler's Cabinet did in 1841, or he may remove them, as Jackson did in 1833. Jackson settled it once for all, that a Cabinet officer is to be subordinate to the President.

The President may or may not accept the advice of his Cabinet.

217. Duties and Powers of the President. — The powers and duties of the President may be classified as follows:—

1. *Purely executive.* — He is to see that the laws are executed. This he does through his subordinates. Appointing and removing officers are purely executive powers, for without this power the President could not “take care that the laws are faithfully executed.”

The President has legislative, executive, diplomatic, military, and advisory duties.

2. *Diplomatic.* — This includes his power to make treaties, to appoint and receive ambassadors.

3. *Advisory.* — The President recommends measures to Congress, and informs that body of the condition of the country and of the government.

4. *Legislative.* — The President has power to convene Congress, veto bills, and to make treaties, which are a part of “the supreme law of the land.”

5. *Military.* — The President is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy and of the militia when called into the service of the United States. In time of war this is a great power. It is said President Lincoln exercised more power than any Englishman since Cromwell. He called out troops, declared a blockade, increased the army, suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, suspended newspapers, made arbitrary arrests, and freed the slaves,—all by the exercise of his war power. It is a dangerous power in the hands of one man.

218. The Veto Power. — The President has power to veto a bill. *Veto* means “I forbid.” So the President may forbid a bill to become a law. How does a bill become a law? It is first introduced by a member into one of the houses of Congress. It is then referred to the proper committee and dis-

cussed there. If the committee is in favor of it, its chairman will report it to the house. If the committee disapproves of the bill it will be killed ("smothered") in the committee, and that is the end of it. After the bill passes both houses of Congress by a majority vote and is signed by the President, it becomes a law. But if the President disapproves of the bill, instead of signing it he will "veto" it; that is, he will send it back to the house in which it originated with a message stating his objections. If he does not sign it, or return it with his disapproval within ten days, it will become a law without his signature. If he vetoes it, it must then pass by a two-thirds majority in both houses or it cannot become a law. If Congress adjourns within ten days after passing a bill, the President may veto the bill without sending it back with a message. He may leave it unsigned, or "put it in his pocket" and say nothing about it. This is called a "pocket veto." It is used because the President has not time to consider a bill or write out his message explaining his objections to it.

The President may veto a bill.

It passes over his veto if it obtains a two-thirds majority in each house.

Jackson used the veto more than his predecessors.

The Presidents down to Jackson's time did not use the veto much. It was given to the President to check hasty legislation, or legislation that violated the Constitution or encroached on the power of the President or the Supreme Court. Washington and the early Presidents thought it should be used only to prevent unconstitutional legislation. But Jackson vetoed any bill he did not like, any which he thought was unwise or hurtful to the welfare of the country. The early idea was that Congress should determine the legislative policy of the country, and that the President was not to interfere unless the Constitution was violated. Jackson increased the President's power, and made him equal with Congress in determining policies and laws. Jackson's idea of the veto has since prevailed, and it has become an important power.

219. The Treaty-making Power. — The President has power to negotiate treaties. He does this either through the Secretary of

State, or some ambassador. He then submits the treaty to the Senate for its consent, and if two thirds of the Senators present agree, the treaty becomes binding when confirmed by the other nation. The President seeks the coöperation of the Senators, especially of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, while the treaty is in process of making. He may ask the advice of the whole Senate before a treaty is completed, for he does not like to have his treaty defeated in the Senate.

A treaty is drawn up by the President and approved by the Senate.

220. The Power of Appointment. — The power of appointment is one of the most important of the President's powers. He appoints men to office with the consent of a majority of the Senate, but he may remove officers without that consent. To execute the laws he must have faithful officers under him in all the states, — revenue officers, postmasters, judges, marshals. This is the chief source of the President's political power. It is a vast power, since nearly two hundred thousand men, a great army of officeholders, are appointed by the President. He cannot know all these, of course, and he must rely upon the advice of others. The custom arose for senators and representatives to advise the President in making these appointments, until the congressmen came to think it was their right to name, or dictate, the men who should be appointed to post offices and to other important places in their states. The President may, of course, consult members of Congress, but he has no right to surrender the appointing power to them. If this were done, then, by the "spoils system," only men of one party could hope to have a place in the government service. The "merit system" has now largely taken the place of the "spoils system," and in these offices every one has an equal chance. Civil Service examinations are held, and those who pass best are put on a preferred list to be appointed when vacancies occur. Thus competent men are secured. The men who made the Constitution supposed that any President who would use the offices merely to reward party workers and secure his own reelection would be impeached.

221. The United States guarantees to the States Republican Governments. — It is the duty of the United States to guarantee to each state a republican form of government. If there are rival governments within a state, Congress decides which one is the established, or legal, government. It does this when it admits members of Congress from that state. But it is the President's duty, if the state requests him, to protect the people of a state from riot, violence, or insurrection. In Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island, in 1842, the President recognized the call of the governor, who was acting under the old charter government, which Dorr was resisting. He took steps to call out the militia to support this governor, and Dorr's followers gave up. The President may send soldiers to a state only upon the request of the state legislature, or of the governor, if the legislature is not in session. It is the state's duty to preserve order and to see that the rights and liberties of its citizens are preserved, and no state likes to admit that it cannot fulfill these important duties. But if an insurrection becomes so powerful, or disorder

The United States may also put down a rebellion or insurrection in a state.

so widespread, within a state* that the governor and state authorities cannot put it down, they may call on the President for aid. It is clear that this provision was put into the new Constitution to guard against such dangers as Shays's Rebellion and other disorders that occurred in the states under the Old Confederation. So, "behind the city stands the state, and behind the state stands the nation," to see that law and order are preserved.

If riots and disorders within a state interfere with, or violate, any United States law, or prevent the United States Government from performing its duty, — such as carrying the mails or regulating interstate commerce, — then the President may send troops to a state without waiting for the request of the state legislature or governor. President Cleveland did this in the Chicago railway strikes of 1894.

222. The President a Great Ruler. — When we think of all these great powers, we see what an important office the Presidency is. And when we remember that under the Old Con-

federation there was no President to do any of these things, we can partly understand what a poor and weak government the United States had before the Constitution was made. In truth, it was not a government at all; it was only a loose league of



FRONT VIEW OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

The White House is the official residence of the President. It is a mile and a half from the Capitol. It is made of stone, painted white. The building is 170 feet long and 86 wide. The corner stone was laid in 1792; it was occupied in 1800; burned by the British, 1814; reoccupied, 1817; has been remodeled recently.

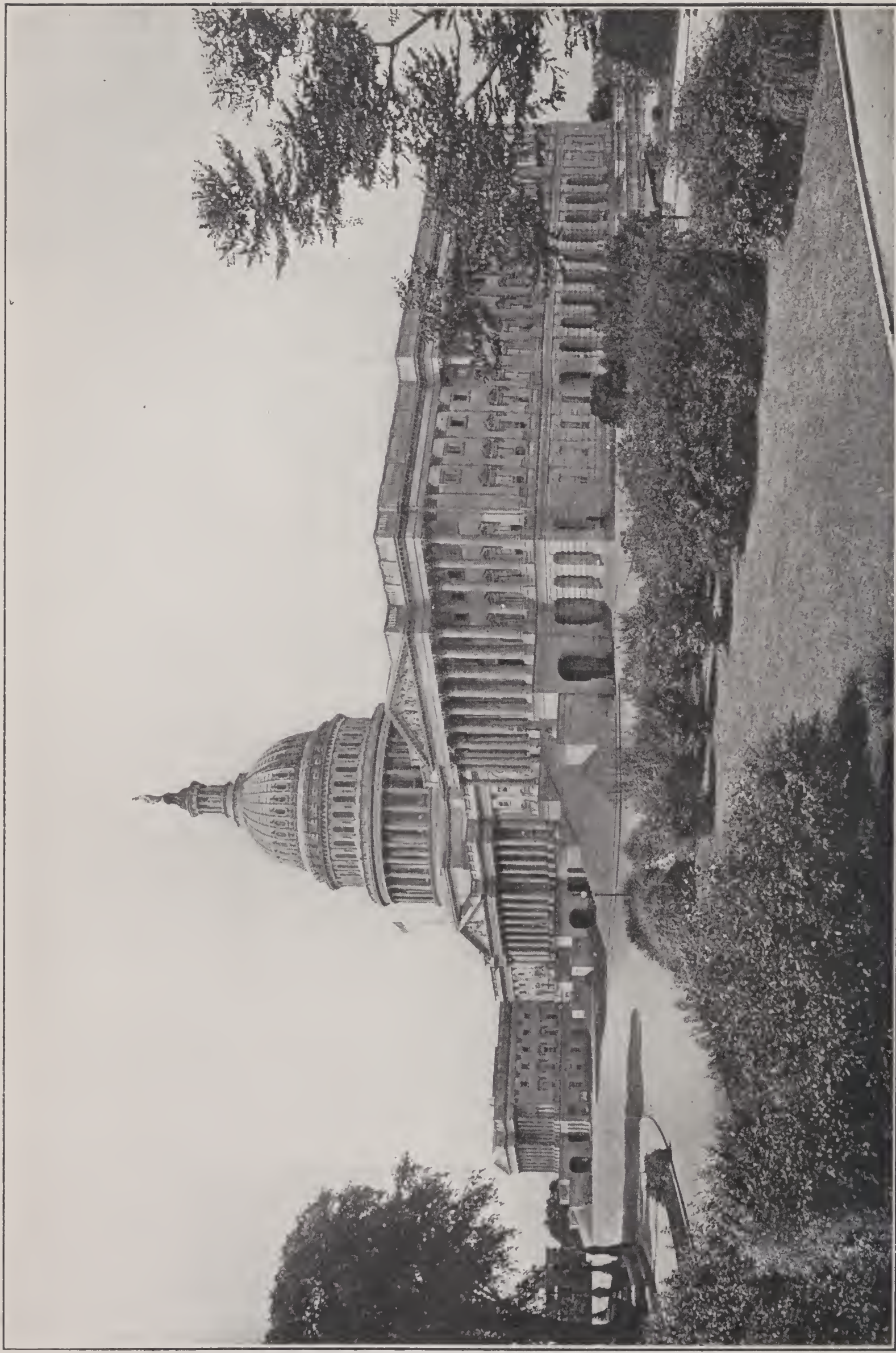
local governments. People cared very little about it. It had very little respect among the states at home and even less among foreign nations abroad. But now the United States Government, largely through the power of the President, has the respect of the world, and receives honor and obedience throughout the length and breadth of the land. The President is more powerful than the British king. The king is only the *nominal* ruler, the *showy* part of his government. He has influence, but not much power. But the President has real power, more than any other single member of the government. He has influence, too, beyond his powers, both among his own

people, and among the kingdoms of the world. This is shown by President Roosevelt's bringing about peace between capital

The President has more power than the king of England.

and labor in the great coal strike of 1902, and his still greater service to all the world in promoting peace between Russia and Japan in 1905. When the office is filled by a great man, like Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, or Roosevelt, the President is one of the great rulers of the world.

But we must remember that his powers are limited. They are limited by the Constitution and by the rights and powers of the other departments of the government, which we must now study.



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

The House of Representatives occupies the left wing and the Senate the right wing. The Presidents are inaugurated on the steps in the middle of the East front shown in this picture.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SENATE

223. Size of the Senate. Method of Election. Qualifications of Senators. — The Senate, like the Presidency, was created by the Convention of 1787. The Congress of the Old Confederation had only one house. It was not a lawmaking body, as we have seen (§ 196). Such bodies among English people generally have two houses, or branches. So one of the first things proposed by those who wished to form a national government in 1787 was that the Congress should have an upper house, or Senate. Very few opposed this except those who wished to retain the old Confederate Government.

The full Senate now consists of ninety members, two from each of the forty-five states. The senators are elected by the legislatures of the states for a term of six years. Senators are chosen by the state legislature for six years. Each senator has one vote, and the Constitution promises that no state shall ever be deprived of its equal vote in the Senate except by its own consent. It says that no amendment shall ever be made to change this clause. Such is the pledge of the Constitution and the generation of 1787, though, of course, the sovereign nation that made the Constitution could adopt a new Constitution or amend the present one by dropping this part entirely.

A senator is required to be thirty years of age, to have been nine years a citizen of the United States, and to be at the time of his election an inhabitant of the state from which he is chosen. He can hold no other office under the United States while he is a Senator.

224. The President of the Senate. — The Vice President is the presiding officer of the Senate. He is not a member of the Senate, and therefore he can vote only in case of a tie. The

Senate may choose a president *pro tempore* (for the time being), who presides in the absence of the Vice President. Being a member of the Senate, the president *pro tempore* may vote on any question that comes up, but having voted once he cannot, of course, vote again to break a tie. A motion is defeated by a tie vote.

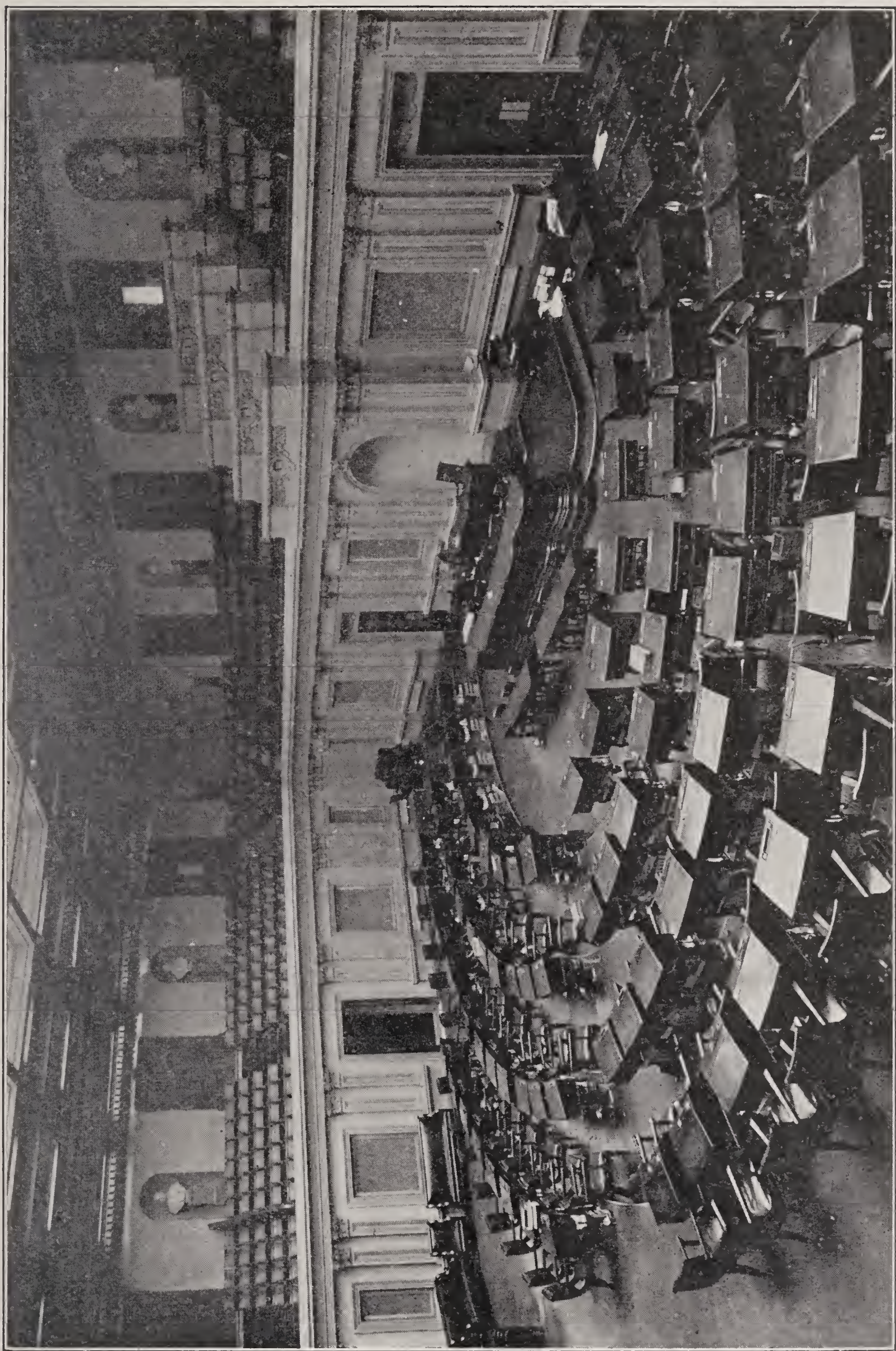
The terms of one third of the senators expire every two years. Thus two thirds of the Senate in every Congress are old members. This makes the Senate a *permanent*, or *continuous*, body. It does not change all at once, and this tends to make it a stable, or steady, body. The House changes every two years, though, of course, many old members may be reëlected.

225. Vacancies in the Senate. — A vacancy in the Senate (caused by death or resignation) is filled by the appointment of the state governor until the next legislature meets, which then fills the vacancy. If the legislature fails to elect, the governor's appointment no longer holds; it is then taken for granted that the state has consented to be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate.

226. The Senate represents the States as Political Bodies. — The Senate is confederate in character. A state may have seven million people, like New York, or only forty thousand, like Nevada; it will have two votes in the Senate just the same. Equal numbers of people should have equal numbers of representatives, or an equal amount of political power, in a democratic body. To give forty thousand people as much power as seven million is very undemocratic and unrepubli- can. But the Senate is not a democratic body. Our fathers made a government of the states as well as a government of the people, and the Senate represents the states as political bodies, not as merely districts of people. The Senate was regarded as purely federal, not national.

227. Powers of the Senate. — The Senate has three distinct classes of powers: (1) legislative, (2) executive, and (3) judicial.

1. The *legislative* power of the Senate is to act as an equal



SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON.

branch of the national legislature. Its consent is necessary to the passage of bills; so it has as much legislative power as the House. It may not originate a revenue bill, but it may amend such a bill and determine its final form. In 1894 the Wilson Tariff Bill, after it came from the House, had about one hundred and forty amendments attached to it in the Senate. When it came back to the House, its friends there hardly recognized it and President Cleveland refused to sign it.

1. Legisla-
tive power
of the
Senate.

2. The *executive* powers of the Senate are, —

(1) To take part in the appointing power;

(2) To take part in the treaty-making power.

2. Execu-
tive power
of the
Senate.

Treaties arranged by the President are not completed till confirmed in the Senate by a two-thirds vote of the senators present. The President's appointments are confirmed by a majority vote.

In considering appointments and treaties the Senate goes into *executive* session. This is a secret session. All reporters and visitors are turned out, and the senators are on their oath not to tell anything that occurs. But newspaper reporters generally find out the news and the proceedings are often published the next day. For a few years after 1789 all sessions of the Senate were in secret, as were those of the Constitutional Convention and the Congress of the Confederation. It was thought that the people could not be trusted with knowing what their representatives were doing.

3. The *judicial* power of the Senate consists in its sitting as a court for the trial of impeachment cases brought before it by the House.

3. The judi-
cial power
of the
Senate.

228. Method of Electing Senators. — Until 1866 each state legislature was free to elect its senators in its own way. Congress may regulate the method of electing senators, but it cannot change the electing body nor the place of electing. Congress passed a law in 1866 (as the result of a long contest in New Jersey), laying down the way in which a state legislature shall elect the senator. It requires each house of a state legislature to vote separately. If the two houses choose the same man, he

is elected. If not, then the two houses meet in joint session and proceed to vote by voice (not by ballot), a majority of each house being present. A majority of the whole legislature is required to elect. At least one vote shall be taken daily until an election is secured. Sometimes state legislatures ballot in joint session for a month without being able to elect. If a third party have only a few votes in the legislature, the other two parties may be so nearly evenly balanced that a majority of the whole legislature cannot be obtained for any candidate.

The provision of the Constitution allowing the state legislatures to elect the senators is severely criticised. It is thought to lead to corruption. Every senator's seat is contended for by our political parties. They wish to control the Senate for their party policies and purposes. The national organizations of the parties try to control the election of state legislatures. This means that a state legislature will be chosen, not with reference to the needs and interests of the state, but with a view to controlling the legislature for the party, in order to elect a United States senator. Men are often led to vote for a bad candidate for the state legislature, because this party candidate is bound to vote for the right party man for the United States Senate. In electing a state legislature the voters of a state ought to be free to vote for the most honest, intelligent, and competent men, who would take the best care of the interests of the state; but if they did this they might be voting against their party candidate for the United States Senate. Sometimes, nearly all the session of a state legislature is taken up with trying to elect a senator, and the needed legislation of the state is neglected. For this reason an amendment has been proposed, and it has repeatedly passed the House of Representatives at Washington, which would take away from the legislature the power of electing senators, and, instead, would elect these by a direct vote of the people of the state. This would leave the legislature free to attend to the business of lawmaking, for which it exists.

Objections
to the present method
of choosing
the senators.

Many favor
election by
the people.

229. The Senate has had Many Able Men.—The Senate has been the scene of activity for our greatest statesmen, — Webster, Calhoun, Clay, and Benton ; Seward, Sumner, Chase, and Wade ; Davis, Butler, Mason, and Crittenden, and other able men, North and South, have honored the Senate by their services. On the whole, it has shown itself throughout our history to be a very honorable body. Mr. Bryce, a great English writer on the American Commonwealth, has given several reasons why the American Senate has proved so successful: —

Bryce's
reasons
why the
Senate is
successful.

1. It is representative. Most upper houses in European legislatures are hereditary.

2. It is convenient in size. This educates its members in their work, by giving them more to do, and it enables them to act together better.

3. It is a permanent body, and the term of office is long enough to attract ambitious and able men.

4. It is not subject to rapid changes of opinion. It thus forms a bulwark against popular agitations. But it may also become too conservative and be an obstacle to progress. It may be too much under the control of large moneyed interests, and public opinion is now rather in favor of making the Senate a more popular body, by requiring that its members be elected directly by the people, that it may respond more quickly to the popular desires.

CHAPTER XVII

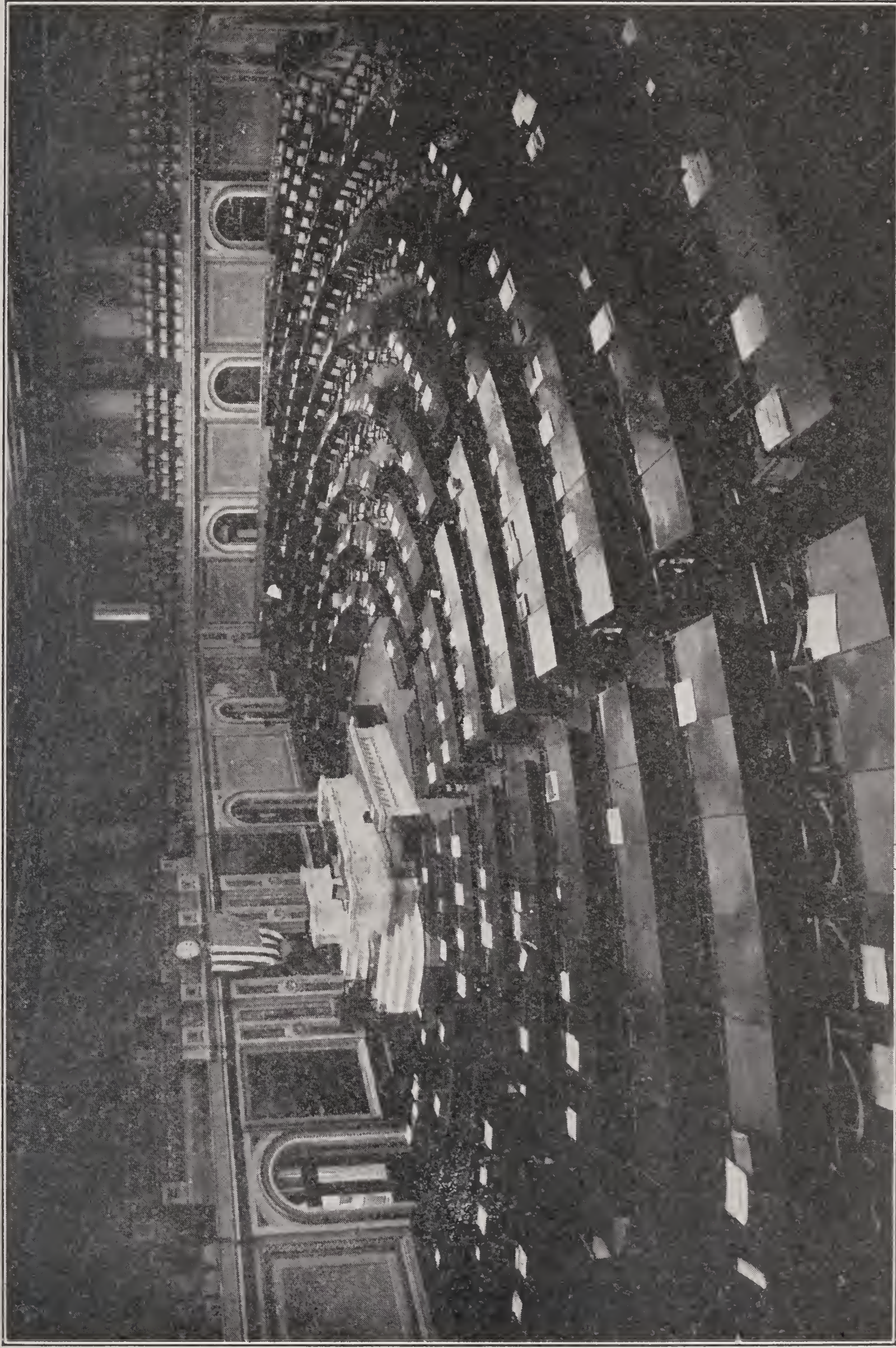
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

230. Who may vote for Representatives.—As the Senate represents the states, the House of Representatives (usually called the *House*) represents the nation, or the people of the states, on the basis of numbers. The House is called the “popular branch” of Congress.

The members of the House are elected every second year by the people of the several states.

Those may vote for representatives (or for Presidential Electors [§ 212]) who are qualified by their state laws to vote for the most numerous branch of their state legislature. The qualifications for voters who elect the House of Representatives and the Electors are fixed by the laws of the respective states. In some states the right to vote is more restricted than in others, but generally the states provide for “manhood suffrage”; that is, each man may have one vote, regardless of property or educational qualifications. The states are left free to do as they please as to suffrage, except, according to the fifteenth amendment, no state may deny the right of suffrage to any man “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” (For further suffrage provisions, see § 252.)

231. Qualifications of Representatives.—A representative is required, (1) to be twenty-five years of age, (2) to have been seven years a citizen of the United States, and (3) to be, when elected, an inhabitant of the state in which he is chosen. A congressman is not bound to reside in the district he represents, except by custom, or the law of the unwritten Constitution. It is now a fixed custom not to nominate men outside of the dis-



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON.

strict; so it might as well be required by law as far as the result is concerned.

232. Apportionment of Representatives. Size of the House. — Representatives, like direct taxes, are apportioned among the states according to population. Every ten years a census is taken, and after each census Congress allots to each state its share of representatives. The state determines its own districts from which representatives are chosen.

The Constitution provides that the representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand of the population. The first Congress consisted of sixty-five members, allotted to the states by agreement in the Constitutional Convention before the first census was taken. A large membership was thought to be undesirable, and one member for thirty thousand people would have given a membership of only one hundred and thirty. With the growth of population it has been found necessary to increase the membership of the House, and now with three hundred and eighty-seven members it has only one for one hundred and ninety-seven thousand of the population. Each state must have at least one representative, though its population may not be equal to that of the average Congressional District.

The number of representatives is determined by the population of the state.

Sometimes congressmen are elected for the whole state because the legislature may not have had time to redistrict the state after a new apportionment has allotted the state additional representatives. These are called "Representatives-at-Large."

A vacancy in the House is filled by an election which is held upon the writ or call of the Governor.

Congress meets at least once a year, on the first Monday in December. "Extra sessions" may be called by the President when necessary.

Congress meets each year.

233. Officers of the House. — The principal officers of the House are the speaker, the clerk, the doorkeeper, the sergeant-at-arms, the postmaster, and the chaplain.

The clerk (of the previous House) presides while a new House is being organized, or until a speaker is elected. He

administers the oath of office to the members. He makes up the roll of the new House and puts on the roll those who hold the certificates of election, issued by their state governors. The House decides after it is organized whether others ought to be seated in the places of some who hold certificates of election and whom the clerk has placed on the roll.

The clerk and his assistants keep a record of the House proceedings. The titles of the other officers of the House indicate their duties. (For the Speaker, see § 235.)

The House elects its own officers, but the choice has already been made by a "caucus" of the majority party. This is a party meeting held a few days before Congress meets. This meeting agrees, by a majority vote, on a list of officers for the House, and when the House meets to elect officers all the members of the majority party are expected to, and do, vote for this list. The choice of the caucus is thus ratified by the House. The election, then, is only a formal indorsement of the men already chosen by the caucus. The members of the minority party also hold a caucus and nominate a list of officers. They do not expect any of them to be elected, but the man whom they nominate for Speaker becomes their leader on the floor of the House.

The salary of a member of Congress is five thousand dollars and mileage, *i.e.* his expenses for traveling. The members are also provided with clerks and are allowed one hundred and twenty-five dollars for stationery.

234. Powers withheld from Congress. — The principal powers of Congress are recited in the Constitution (see Constitution, Article I). They are such as the nation ought to attend to, touching such matters as are of common interest to all the states. Certain powers are also withheld (see Constitution, Article I, Section IX).

The House may not participate with the Senate in confirming appointments or approving treaties; but, on the other hand, it has the exclusive right, (*a*) to start revenue bills, (*b*) to bring charges for impeachment, and (*c*) to elect the President in case the electoral college fails to elect.

Members of both houses of Congress are exempt from arrest (except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace), and they may not be called to account for anything they may say in Privileges of members. debate in either house. This is to assure them freedom for their duties. Otherwise, on trumped-up charges, leading members might be detained from attending at most important times.

235. The Speaker. — The *Speaker* is the most important officer of the House and one of the most interesting and powerful officers in our system of government. In legislative and political importance he stands next to the President. His importance comes from three reasons : —

1. His power of “recognition.” He “recognizes” members who rise to speak or make motions ; that is, he gives the floor to the member whom he wishes to make a certain motion or promote certain business. It does not The power of “recognition.” matter whether some other member rises first and says, “Mr. Speaker,” the Speaker will recognize the member with whom he has already made an arrangement. The Speaker can thus determine what business the House will take up and how slowly or rapidly it will be attended to.

2. He directs the business of the House also by his position as chairman of the Committee on Rules. This is the “steering committee” of the House, the committee that lays Member of Committee on Rules. out its programme, directs its order of business, determines what measures shall be taken up next, and how long they shall be discussed. This committee can bring in a new rule for the House to adopt at any time, closing or limiting debate, setting a time for a vote, and preventing filibustering. Thus the House has lodged in a few of its members the control of its action and business. The Speaker is the most important member of this committee.

3. The Speaker appoints the committees of the House. By this means he is able very largely to control legislation. Every bill, before it can pass the House, is referred to its proper committee. The committee may report favorably on the measure

and secure its passage, or it may "smother," or stifle, the measure in the committee, and no more will be heard of it. No bill can be passed by the House without being approved by the committee. The Speaker makes up the committees to suit his own views and to promote his party policy. If he is opposed to legislation on a certain subject, he can make up such a committee on that subject as will be certain to bury all proposed bills on that line; on the other hand, if he favors such legislation, he can make up a committee favorable to his views. The Speaker is thus the most powerful legislative officer in our government.

The Speaker may also be powerful in his parliamentary rulings. He may rule the House with a high hand or with a looser rein. Speaker Reed gave a memorable ruling on the quorum in 1890. The Constitution says "a majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business." Before 1890 the quorum had always been determined in the House by roll call. If a majority did not answer to a roll call on a vote, the House acted as if a quorum were not present and it could not pass any measure. The minority, wishing to prevent legislation, could "break a quorum" by refusing to vote. If they went away, the sergeant-at-arms might be sent after them to compel them to come back; but no one could make them vote after they were brought back. Speaker Reed directed the clerk to count "as present but not voting" certain members whom he saw in the House. In this way he "made a quorum" and declared measures passed that otherwise could not have been passed. His ruling has been followed by subsequent houses. Filibustering by breaking the quorum is now prevented. Filibustering consists of making long speeches and all kinds of motions merely to delay the business of the House and prevent legislation.

236. The Committee System. — There are between fifty and sixty committees of the House. Some of the most important of these are the Committee on Ways and Means, the Committee on Appropriations, on Foreign Affairs, on Military Affairs, on

Naval Affairs, on Post Offices and Post Roads, on Indian Affairs, on Invalid Pensions. The chairman of each of the important committees is one of the leading members of the House, and as legislation is really decided upon in committee the chairman holds an important place. He is expected to explain and defend the measures of his committee on the floor of the House. A committee generally considers a bill in secret, though opponents and advocates of a measure may be heard before the committee. It is not always known how members vote in the committee, and it is, therefore, not easy to fix responsibility upon any one in particular for the committee's conduct. Most bills are buried in committees, as they ought to be; the bills are never reported back to the House. If a committee is smothering a good bill by neglecting to report upon it, the House may order the committee to report, or it may transfer the measure to another committee, although this method of controlling a committee is not easy to apply, for the chairmen will generally stand by one another in trying to control their committees' business.

The committee practically determines the fate of a bill.

The Ways and Means Committee is the most important, and its chairman is usually the floor leader. It has charge of raising the revenues of the government. The tariff bills are prepared by this committee, or more properly by the members of the committee belonging to the majority party.

Committee on Ways and Means is the most important.

The Appropriations Committee is the next most important in the House. It has charge of appropriating the money to pay the expenses of all the departments of the government, and many millions of dollars are carried by the great appropriations which somebody must inspect very closely. A "watch dog of the treasury" has a good opportunity on this committee to prevent "steals" and "jobs" from creeping into these long appropriation bills.

The Committee on Appropriations is second in importance.

237. The President may influence Congress in Various Ways.
— While the Executive and Legislative departments were in-

tended to be kept separate from one another, neither to be allowed to control the other, they are necessarily brought into mutual relationship and each has considerable influence over the other.

The President may influence Congress by his annual message, by calling Congress into extra session, by his veto, and by communicating with the Congressional committees, and especially by the distribution of important offices. The President may give places to congressmen, or their friends, if they consent to support his policy in Congress. This is mere bribery ; it is buying votes with offices. This would lead a congressman to vote, not according to his own judgment, nor the merits of a bill, nor the interests of the country, but according to the selfish interests of himself or his friends. It was in this way English kings used to control Parliament, — by the places and favors they had to bestow. A President who tried to control Congress in this way would deserve impeachment and disgrace. The people cannot be too careful in guarding against such an abuse of power by the officers whom they elect.

238. How Congress may influence the President. — Congress may influence the President, (1) by a resolution censuring him or calling upon him to pursue a certain course of conduct ; (2) by an investigating committee, to inquire into the action of some of the departments ; (3) by refusing legislation which the President desires or by bills which restrict the President's action ; (4) by impeachment ; and (5) by withholding appropriations which the President may ask for. It is better for the President and Congress to act in harmony, but many times they do not do so, as they may be of different parties or desire different policies.



SUPREME COURT CHAMBER, WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE JUDICIARY

239. Origin of the Judiciary. — Under the Old Confederation there was no national judiciary. Lawsuits were left to the states, and disputes between states were settled by a committee of Congress. The Judiciary, the third department of the new government, has grown since 1789, in the extent of its operations, more than any other department, and it has been very influential in establishing nationality and a stronger union.

240. Extent of the Judicial Power. Tenure of Office. — The judicial power of the United States is vested in a Supreme Court and in such lower courts as Congress may establish from time to time. The small states did not want lower courts established, because they thought the national courts would have so little to do that one Supreme Court would be enough; it was supposed that United States courts would not have original jurisdiction, or the first trial, in law cases, but would hear only such cases as were appealed from state judges, after the cases had been tried once. This would have made the Supreme Court only an “appellate court.”

The judges, both of the Supreme and lower courts, hold their offices during good behavior; and their pay cannot be diminished during their continuance in office. This is to make them independent in their decisions.

241. The Judiciary Act, 1789. — The Judiciary Act of September 24, 1789, is one of the most important in our history. Its author was Oliver Ellsworth, a member of the Constitutional Convention, and the act made up our judiciary practically as it is to-day. By the act of 1789 the Supreme Court numbered six. There are now nine members of the Court, a Chief Justice, with

a salary of \$13,000, and eight associate justices, with salaries of \$12,500 each.

The justices are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and they can be removed only by impeachment.

There are nine circuit courts and more than eighty district
Minor courts of the United States; so the national law is
courts. applied and enforced in all parts of the land. There is also a Court of Claims to try claims of citizens against the government.

242. Kinds of Cases tried in the United States Courts. — The following kinds of cases may be tried in the United States courts: —

1. Those to which the Constitution and laws of the United States apply.
2. Cases affecting ambassadors, public ministers, and consuls, or the representatives of other nations in our country.
3. Cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, like prize cases and cases relating to navigation.
4. Controversies to which the United States may be a party.
5. Controversies between two or more states; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands by grants of different states; between a state, or its citizens, and a foreign state, or its citizens.

243. The Eleventh Amendment adopted. — Before the eleventh amendment was adopted (1794), a state might be sued by a citizen of another state. Since it violated the dignity and independence of a state to allow it to be brought into court like a private defendant, the eleventh amendment was adopted, which provides that the judicial power of the United States shall not extend to any suit against a state commenced by a citizen of another state.

If a national law applies to a case, it prevails against any state law, and whether or not the national law applies is determined by the national courts. Thus the nation, through its courts, decides upon the extent of its own powers.

244. The Federal Marshal. — The federal marshal is the sheriff of the court. He executes the court's writs, orders, and judgments. He may call citizens near by (the *posse comitatus*) to his aid, and if that is not sufficient he may apply to the government at Washington for troops. If the President refuses the necessary force, the court is powerless to execute its decrees.

245. The District Attorney. — The United States district attorney is the federal prosecutor. He begins proceedings against persons violating national law. The district attorney and the marshal are both under the direction of the Attorney-General of the United States, the head of the Department of Justice. Through these officers national authority covers the whole territory of the union.

246. The Judicial Power to declare an Act Unconstitutional. — From a political point of view the most important power of the Judiciary is its power to declare an act unconstitutional. This power applies not only to the acts of Congress, but to the acts of any of the state legislatures. An act of a legislature that is unconstitutional is no law at all; it is as if it had never been, and no one can be punished for refusing to obey it. This power of declaring an act unconstitutional is not conferred by the Constitution, and when it was first exercised it caused some surprise and alarm. Jefferson and the states' rights party were afraid the Supreme Court would become too powerful if it were allowed in this way to overrule Congress and the state legislatures. Jefferson admitted that unconstitutional laws did not bind the people, but he did not like to have a national court decide on the limits of national authority. He said that each state should decide when the Constitution had been violated and what should be done about it; or the people of the union in convention assembled should pass on the matter. Now, however, the Supreme Court has been accepted by all as a fair umpire to settle the limits of power between the state and the nation.

The power to declare an act unconstitutional is not exercised

by the courts of other countries; it is distinctly American. In England there is no such thing as an *invalid* act of Parliament. Parliament is supreme, and no court would presume to set one of its acts aside. Whatever law Parliament passes is constitutional, and the courts will accept and apply it. If an English judge finds two laws conflicting, he merely looks at the date of each, and the last law prevails. All statutes are of equal authority. There is no *written* constitution to which, as a higher fundamental law, all statutes, or acts of the legislature, must conform. But in America the Constitution is written. It is not on the level of an ordinary legislative act, and it cannot be changed at the will of the legislature; but it is a supreme and fundamental law, and all departments of the government must obey it and conform their acts to it. An act of Congress contrary to the Constitution is not law; it is null and void. This theory is attached to a written constitution, and is one of the fundamental principles of our society. The court is in duty bound to set aside an act of Congress that is contrary to the Constitution.

This does not mean that the Judicial Department is superior to the Legislative Department, but only that the fundamental law which the people have established is superior to both. The conflict is between two kinds of law, and the court must say what the law is and decide every case in harmony with the supreme law of the land.

247. Four Kinds of American Law. — There are four kinds of law in America: —

1. The federal constitution.
2. Federal statutes.
3. State constitutions.
4. State statutes.

If two laws conflict, the higher law prevails and the lower must give way. The court in interpreting the Constitution merely shows what the higher law requires and wherein the lower law is contrary to it.

The Supreme Court will not express an opinion about a proposed law or advise the Executive about the constitutionality of a law. It waits for a law case to come before it, and then passes judgment on any law that may be brought into question. Thus the court does not go to meet a case, but waits for the case to come to it.

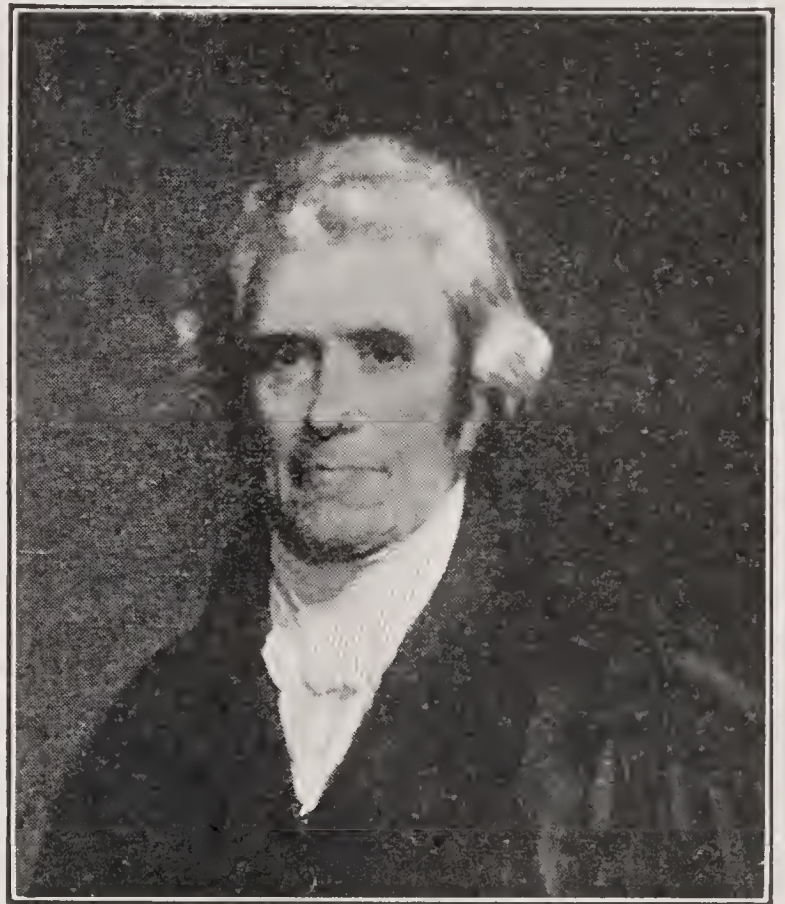
248. The Constitution has grown by Amendments, Interpretation, and Construction. — It was expected that our Constitution would grow chiefly by *amendments*, to be made in two ways: —

1. Congress may by a two-thirds vote of each house propose an amendment. If this be ratified by the legislatures, or conventions, of three fourths of the states, it becomes a part of the Constitution. Fifteen amendments have been obtained in this way.

2. The other method of amendment is that Congress, upon the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, these proposals to be valid when ratified by the legislatures, or conventions, of three fourths of the states. No amendment has ever been obtained by this method.

The Constitution has also grown by interpretation and construction. John Marshall, the great Chief Justice from 1801 to 1835, did much to es-

tablish and enlarge the powers of the national government by his great decisions and by the principles of construction which he laid down. He said that the powers of the national govern-



JOHN MARSHALL.

“The greatest American jurist” was born in Virginia in 1755 and died in Philadelphia in 1835. He was an educated man, but not a college graduate. He became a lawyer, was made Secretary of State, and finally Chief Justice in 1801. He held this office until the time of his death. He wrote a “History of the Colonies” and a “Life of Washington.”

ment were limited, and these limits must not be passed; but when once the grant of power is proved, then any reasonable means may be used by Congress to carry out this power. Marshall would have the nation exercise only constitutional powers, but he would have it exercise liberal construction in the use of these powers. The system of courts and the construction of the Constitution which Marshall did so much to establish have had great influence in saving the Constitution from the same complete and disheartening failure into which the Articles of Confederation had fallen. Probably no institution in our history has done more to promote and sustain American nationality than has the Supreme Court. It has the respect of all nations, the confidence of all parties. In dignity, ability, and impartial fairness it receives the approval of the people. It is one of the bulwarks of the American system of government.

The
Supreme
Court is held
in high
honor.

CHAPTER XIX

THE STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

249. Local Self-government.— We have seen in our study of the beginnings of the union how the people were governed almost entirely by the states. Local self-government in the states is still the larger part of our government. In the multitude of affairs that government deals with, the states are still more important than the nation; they touch the citizen a hundred times where the nation touches him once. Most of our laws are made at our state capitals, not at Washington. Treason, piracy, counterfeiting, smuggling, offenses against the postal laws and land laws and internal revenue laws, violations of patents and copyrights, and interfering with interstate commerce, — these are almost all the crimes that can be committed against the United States government.

The importance of the states.

On the other hand, the state touches the citizen in so many ways that they are too numerous to mention. It collects his personal and property tax, registers his birth and his death, appoints his guardian, provides for his inheritance, pays for his schooling, regulates his marriage, grants him divorce, declares him a bankrupt, licenses his trade, makes him pay his debts, tries him for all kinds of civil and criminal misconduct. The state laws preserve the peace; regulate the police; provide for the poor; control water, gas, and railway franchises; establish insane asylums, blind asylums, reform schools, and penitentiaries; take care of the highways; guard the public health; and protect the citizen against fraud, nuisance, riot, theft, burglary, gambling, robbery, slander, incendiarism, violence, and murder. With all these

The citizen is governed more by the state than by the national law.

matters the national government has nothing to do. Each state provides a system of local self-government in counties, cities, townships, and school districts, with a system of local and state taxation. The people's interests, taxes, and welfare are affected far more by this local government, and by these civil and criminal laws, than by acts of the national government at Washington.

250. The State Constitution is framed by the People of the State. — The states are supreme in all these matters. Congress permits a new state, or the people of a territory, to form a new constitution, and it may influence the character of a state constitution by imposing conditions upon the admission of the state; but the people of a state make their own constitution, and the powers to be exercised under it are derived from the people of the state, not from the general government. A state may afterward amend its constitution without asking Congress. Its constitution is adopted by a convention of the state, elected for that purpose. After being framed by the convention, the constitution is, as a rule, submitted to the people of the state for ratification or rejection. If rejected, a new constitution is formed by the convention; if ratified, the constitution is proclaimed by the governor or legislature.

In amending a state constitution the legislature makes the beginning. The amendment must be made according to the provisions of the constitution. It will, perhaps, require that the proposed amendment shall pass the legislature by a two-thirds majority, or by a majority in two successive legislatures, and then be submitted to the people for approval. Or, the legislature may call a new convention to revise the constitution, or make a new one, to be submitted to the people.

251. Departments of the State Government. — Each state has the three separate departments in its government, — Legislative, Executive, and Judicial.

The *Legislature* makes the laws. Every state has two houses in its legislature, a senate and an assembly, or a house of repre-

sentatives. The state senators and representatives are usually apportioned among the several counties of the state in proportion to population. They are usually re-^{The state legislature.} quired to live in the districts which they represent.

The state legislatures vary greatly in numbers, from fifty-five in the whole legislature of Delaware, to three hundred twenty-one in the house of representatives in New Hampshire. Their pay is generally from \$4.00 to \$8.00 a day and mileage, though in New York a member has \$1500 a year.

The *Executive* Department of a state consists of the governor and minor executive officers, such as the lieutenant-governor, the secretary of state, the auditor of state, the ^{Executive} treasurer of state, the attorney-general, the super-^{Department.} intendent of public instruction, the board of tax commissioners, benevolent boards, etc. The governor is the chief executive. The subordinate state officers are elected directly by the people and hold their offices independent of the governor. They are not like a cabinet or council of advisers to the governor, and he cannot remove them, except as the law provides. The legislature determines the public policy of the state, and each executive officer has his duties defined by law.

It is the governor's duty to see that the laws of the state are faithfully executed; to convene the legislature when occasion requires; to recommend desirable legislation; to ^{The state} make appointments required by law; to act as com-^{governor.} mander of the state militia, and in this capacity to repel invasion and suppress riot, rebellion, and insurrection. The governors have the veto in nearly all the states, though in some states the governor's veto may be overridden by a bare majority of the legislature.

The lieutenant-governor corresponds to the Vice President. He presides over the state senate, and on the death or retirement of the governor he succeeds to the ^{The lieu-} governorship. These are his only duties. ^{tenant-gov-} ^{ernor.}

Each state has a *judiciary*. There are justices of the peace, county courts, or circuit courts, and supreme courts. In

earlier days the judges were appointed by the governor or elected by the legislature ; but now, in most of the states, they are elected directly by the people. Formerly, the judges were chosen to serve for life, or during good behavior, but now the term is for a period of years, varying from two years in Vermont to twenty-one years in Pennsylvania. They can be removed only by impeachment, or by an address requesting their removal presented to the governor by both houses of the legislature or in other ways provided.

It is the duty of the judge to see that the law is explained and applied in his court. It is his duty to interpret the state constitution, and if an act of the legislature is not in harmony with the constitution, it is the court's place to declare the act null and void. The state judge is sworn to support the Constitution of the United States as well as of the state, and it may be his right and duty to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional, although his decision may be reversed by a national court.

252. The State regulates the Suffrage. — Suffrage is regulated by the state. Who may vote for Presidential electors or representatives depends on the laws of the state (§ 230). Voting is not a right of citizenship. It is a privilege conferred by the state on those whom it considers fit. Many citizens are voters ; some voters are not citizens. Women and children are, usually, not voters ; they are, of course, citizens. Congress makes our naturalization laws, and while the states cannot make aliens into citizens they may make voters out of them. In Indiana a foreigner is required to live but one year in the state to become a voter ; he must live five years in the United States in order to become a naturalized citizen. He must, however, declare his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States before he can vote. In four of the Western states — Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah — women are allowed to vote.

253. Citizenship and the Fourteenth Amendment. — Citizenship is, also, chiefly a state matter. The fourteenth amendment gave the first definition of American citizenship : “ All persons born or naturalized within the United States, and subject to the

jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside ;” “ nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.” National citizenship is now defined, and the states are bound to give all American citizens equal protection of the laws. The state is still the guardian and protector of the citizen in his right to life, liberty, property, and a fair trial. The people value these rights, and they will understand that the rights of the states and their good government, in counties, cities, and townships, are matters of the highest importance.

It has been said that it is more important to the citizen to see to it that his county has a good Commissioner or his Township a good Trustee than that the United States should have a good President. The County Commissioner, the Township Trustee, the City Councilman, the Mayor, the County Treasurer,—these and other local officers have much more influence over the citizen’s immediate interests than either the President or Congress. It is the work of the local government and its officers to provide good schools, to make good roads, to take care of the poor, to conduct elections, to guard the public health, to provide water and light for the city, to restrain lawlessness, gambling, and other vice, and to provide for all local improvements and progress. These are the most important matters in the life of the people, and the President and Congress at Washington can have very little to do with any of them. If every man sweeps in front of his own dooryard, the city will be clean. So if the people can govern themselves well in every city and township in the land, the nation will be well taken care of. But if the people have not enough force, intelligence, and patriotism to provide for themselves good local officers for the sake of honest and decent government at home, they will not be able to do very much toward the good government of the nation at large.

Importance
of local gov-
ernment.

CHAPTER XX

THE TERRITORIES

254. Congress governs the Territories. — We have seen from our history how the original territories came into the possession of the United States (§ 198). Our later history will tell how other territory was acquired.

Congress has power to govern the territories. In organizing and governing the territories, Congress has always had in view their admission as states. To organize a territory is to describe its boundaries and to provide a government for it. The organizing act of Congress is the constitution for the territory; it names the territorial officers and their duties, and lays down the principles for the territorial legislature to go by. The Ordinance of 1787 was the organizing act for the Northwest Territory, and it served as a constitution until the states made new constitutions, upon their admission to the union. This constitution of a territory (the organizing act) is not made by the people of the territory as the constitution of a state is, but it comes from Congress, and Congress may change it at will.

255. Departments. — The government of an organized territory provides for three departments: —

1. The Executive consists of the governor and other administrative officers. These are appointed by the President for a term of four years. It is the governor's duty to see that the laws of the United States and of the territory are faithfully executed. He usually has a veto on the acts of the territorial legislature.

The territorial executive.

2. The territorial legislature is composed of a senate and a house of representatives. Each house is elected by the voters of the territory for a term of two years. The legislative power of a territory is almost as extensive as that of a state, extending

to all laws “not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States.” Congress may at any time modify or set aside any territorial law, and it may (by amending the organizing act) limit to any extent the legislative power of the territory. The territorial legislature.

3. The territorial Judiciary consists of three or more judges appointed for a term of four years by the President, with the consent of the senate, together with the United States district attorney and a United States marshal. They are not appointed for life or good behavior, as the federal judges are, but they may be removed by the President. The territorial judiciary.

256. The Territories and National Elections. — Territories do not take part in Presidential elections, nor do they send senators to Congress. They do not take part in governing the United States. Each territory may send a delegate to the national House of Representatives and he may speak, introduce, and explain measures and make motions, but he may not vote. It is only when the territory becomes a state that its representatives take part in passing laws for the United States. How a territory becomes a state is indicated repeatedly in the history that follows.

257. The Constitution does not extend to the Island Possessions. — Our “insular possessions” — Porto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, and some minor islands — are governed under the absolute power of Congress. The Constitution does not apply to them. Its provisions might have been extended to islands by the treaty by which they were acquired, or the Constitution may at any time be extended by a resolution of Congress; but until this is done Congress is not bound by the limitations of the Constitution in the government of the islands. The people of the islands must rely for the protection of their rights on our good disposition, on our political habits and precedents, on the American spirit and love of liberty, on the fundamental principles on which the nation was founded and by which it is guided. These will lead us to give, as soon as may be, constitutional rights and liberty to Porto Rico and the Philippines and to all peoples who may ever come under the protection of our flag.

CHAPTER XXI

THE INAUGURATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.—THE SUPREMACY OF THE FEDERALIST PARTY

258. The Old Government dead, March 2, 1789.—We have seen the way in which the Constitution was made in the Philadelphia Convention of 1787; we have also studied the kind of government which was created; it now remains for us to note the method by which the new form of government was put into operation.

Although no meetings had been held since the fall of 1788, the Congress of the Confederation did not go out of existence until the 2d of March, 1789. On the afternoon of the 3d the battery guns in New York City fired a farewell salute to the old form of government. At dawn on the following day the same guns fired a salute to the new government, and the bells of the city churches rang out in honor of the new era. New York had been chosen as the seat of the new government, and the 4th of March was the time appointed for the inauguration of the President; yet it was found to be impossible to put the new Constitution into operation on that day, because neither house of Congress had a quorum for the transaction of business. It was well known, of course, that Washington had been chosen President and John Adams Vice President, but the electoral votes could not be officially counted except in the presence of a majority of each house. Only eight of the twenty-two senators were present and thirteen of the fifty-nine representatives. These were compelled to await the coming of their tardy associates.

It will be remembered that the Constitution was to go into

effect as soon as ratified by nine states. It will also be remembered that New Hampshire, the ninth state, ratified on the 21st of June, 1788. Congress was notified of that fact a few days later, but was rather slow in making the necessary preparations for the election of President, Vice President, senators, and representatives. Things moved slowly in those days. The roads were poor and the mails crept along at a snail's pace; so, perhaps, it is not to be wondered at that everything was not ready at the appointed time, March 4.

259. The Election of the President. — It might be well at this time to say a word about the election of President and Vice President. No conventions were held to nominate candidates for these offices. There was need of none — particularly in so far as the Presidency was concerned. The name of Washington was upon every tongue. He seemed again to be the one indispensable man. He had fought in the French and Indian War; he had guided the affairs of the Revolution; he had presided over the Constitutional Convention; and now he was looked upon by the common consent of the nation as the best man to be at the head of the new form of government.

For the Vice Presidency it was soon seen that John Adams was the favored man. There was much to be said in his behalf. Adams had shown himself to be an honest, able, and fearless champion of popular government. Jefferson had called him the "Colossus of the Debate" when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and he was a valiant defender of the new Constitution. John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and General Knox, all of Massachusetts, were mentioned in connection with the office, but there was a serious objection in each case.

Washington
and John
Adams were
chosen
President
and Vice
President.

When the ballots were counted it was found that the choice of Washington was unanimous; and that John Adams, having secured the next highest number of votes, was chosen Vice President. There were some Anti-federalists still left, and these favored George Clinton of New York. Clinton, however, received but three votes.

260. The New Congress. — It was also necessary to elect a new Congress; and this election, for reasons explained above, consumed considerable time. Finally, on the 1st of April, there was found to be a quorum of the House of Representatives present in New York, and that branch of the legislature was organized, with Frederick A. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania as Speaker. This first House of Representatives contained many notable men. James Madison, the “Father of the Constitution,” was the leader of the House. After a vigorous campaign he had defeated James Monroe, also destined to be a President of the United States. Elbridge Gerry was a member, and the eloquent Fisher Ames had won a seat by defeating Samuel Adams, the “Father of the Revolution.”

The House
was organ-
ized April 1,
and the
Senate
April 6.

On the 6th of April the Senate was organized. Among its members were many familiar faces: Robert Morris, Richard Henry Lee, Oliver Ellsworth, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton (Maryland) — destined to be the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence — had seats in the first Senate.

The vote of the electoral college was also counted on the 6th of April, and George Washington and John Adams were officially declared elected President and Vice President, respectively. On the following day a messenger set out for Mount Vernon to notify Washington of his election, and a few days later the President-elect started for New York to assume the duties of his new office. He left his quiet country home, on the banks of the Potomac, with great reluctance. His rugged, stately figure, clad in buff and blue, seemed equal to any task, yet Washington was depressed by the weight of the responsibility which had fallen upon him.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATIONS, 1789-1797

261. Washington was inaugurated April 30, 1789. — On the 30th of April Washington took the oath of office in the presence of an immense throng of people. The day was a notable one in

New York. In the forenoon services were held in the churches, and at twelve o'clock Washington went to Federal Hall and took the oath of office. When this was done Chancellor Livingston, who administered the oath, stepped forward and cried out, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" This



FEDERAL HALL, NEW YORK CITY.

The old City Hall, New York, once occupied by the Continental Congress, was repaired and remodeled at the expense of wealthy citizens of New York for the accommodation of the new national government, 1789. The name "Federal Hall" was given to it at that time. It was the seat of the government until the latter's removal to Philadelphia in 1790.

was the signal for a mighty shout from thousands of throats. The flag was run up and the Battery guns sounded the first salute.

In his inaugural address he tried to impress upon Congress the serious nature of the work upon which they were entering. He also said that he wished no pay for his services as President aside from his necessary expenses.

262. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, and Randolph were the First Cabinet. — One of Washington's first duties was to appoint the members of his Cabinet, or advisory body. The President's

Cabinet now contains nine members. Each member is at the head of a great department of the government, and in addition to this gives advice to the President on important matters. Washington's first Cabinet contained four members. Thomas Jefferson, the famous author of the Declaration of Independence, was made Secretary of State. Alexander Hamilton, probably the most brilliant statesman in American history, was made Secretary of the Treasury. It was Hamilton, as we shall see later, who put the financial affairs of the country on a sound basis. His task was a difficult and an important one, and it is not too much to say that the very life of the republic depended upon the successful management of the Treasury Department. Henry Knox, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, was appointed to take charge of the War Department. Knox was able, honest, and loyal, and added strength to the new Cabinet. Edmund Randolph, the proposer of the "Virginia Plan" in the Constitutional Convention, was made Attorney-General, and also had a seat in the Cabinet.

All of these men were comparatively young. Hamilton was thirty-two; Randolph, thirty-six; Knox, thirty-nine; and Jefferson, forty-six; yet all were well known on both sides of the Atlantic. Taken as a body, this first Presidential Cabinet has never been excelled in ability.

263. John Jay was the first Chief Justice of the United States. — We have noticed that the House of Representatives was organized on the 1st of April and the Senate on the 6th, and that the President was inaugurated on the 30th of the same month. Thus the Executive and Legislative departments of the government were in working order. It now only remained to organize the Judiciary to make the government complete. This was soon done. John Jay of New York was the first Chief Justice of the United States. Jay was a man of sterling integrity and lofty character. It has been well said that the ermine rested upon a man as pure and spotless as itself when it fell upon the shoulders of John Jay. James Wilson of Pennsylvania, a strong defender of the Constitution, was one of the associate justices.

In making the above appointments Washington did his work well. He selected men of honesty, ability, and reputation. He remarked at the time that he wanted men of this character, not only because they were “more likely to be serviceable, but because the public” would “more readily trust them.”

Washington
appointed
good men to
office.

The three great departments of the government were now organized and ready for the transaction of business.

264. Hamilton and the Finances.

— One of the first, and certainly one of the most important, duties of the new government was to reconstruct the financial system. This part of the work fell to Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, and he accomplished his task in such a way as to place his name at the head of the list of American financiers.

Hamilton's financial plan was made up of five parts: 1. He wished to obtain revenue from tariff duties levied upon goods coming into the ports of the United States from foreign countries. A tariff bill, introduced by Madison, had been passed

Hamilton's
financial
plan was
made up of
five parts.

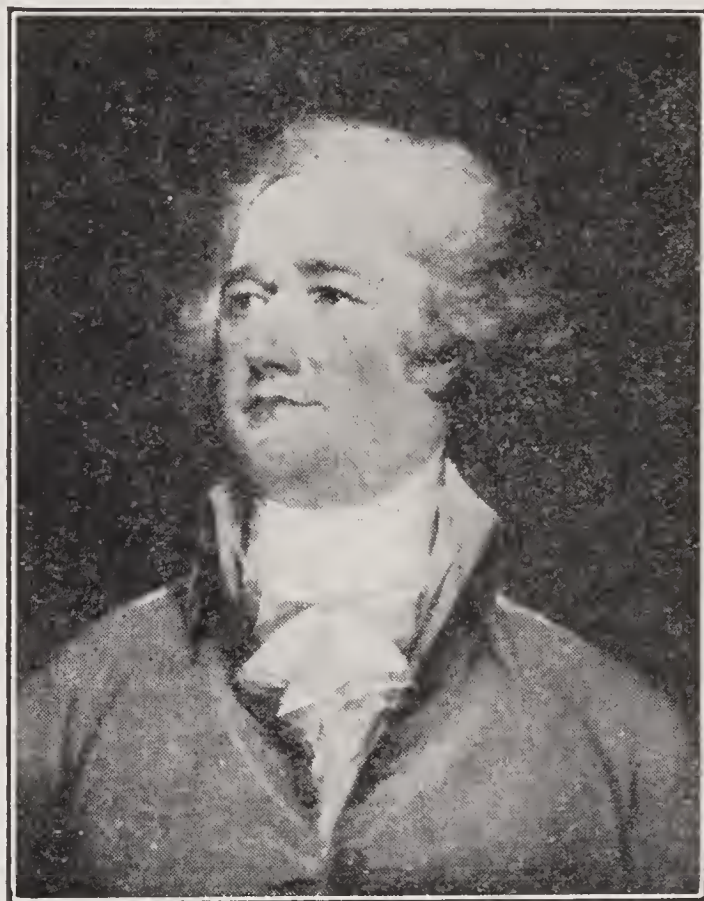
1. The
tariff.

on July 4, 1789, but this did not yield a sufficient revenue and was revised at the suggestion of Hamilton.

2. He urged Congress to levy an excise tax, or a tax upon alcoholic liquors distilled in the United States.

2. The
excise.

3. Probably the most important part of Hamilton's plan was that which provided for the payment of the national debt.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

The ablest financier in American history was born in the West Indies in 1757. He was a remarkably brilliant youth and began to make patriotic orations at seventeen. Was a student at King's College (now Columbia University) and later became a lawyer. He was a strong advocate of the Constitution, and with Madison and Jay wrote the essays in the “Federalist,” urging the acceptance of the new form of government. He was killed by Aaron Burr in a duel in 1804.

Hamilton insisted that the debts of the United States, both foreign and domestic, should be paid at their full face value. This declaration was startling to many. When American credit had fallen so low, bonds and other securities were sold at a few cents on the dollar. It thus seemed to many that it would be an unnecessary waste of money to redeem such securities at their face value. It was said that it would simply be putting money into the pockets of speculators. Hamilton, however, said that the United States had pledged its faith to the payment of the debt in full, and that it would be dishonest to pay anything less than the face value. Fortunately, Hamilton succeeded in getting Congress to agree with him, and the national honor was upheld and national credit soon restored.

3. Payment
of the
national
debt.

4. Hamilton also proposed that the debts of the various states should be paid by the general government. He said that these debts had been contracted for the purpose of carrying on the Revolution, and that the money had been spent for the common defense. For this reason, he argued, the debts should be paid out of the national treasury. This part of the plan met with much opposition. It was said that some of the states had already paid the greater part of their indebtedness and should not be compelled to help their neighbors to pay theirs. Again it was said that some states raised money for the Revolution by levying taxes instead of by borrowing money, and that it would be unjust to ask these states to pay additional debts. We shall see later that Congress agreed to assume a part of the state debts, but not all.

4. Payment
of state
debts.

5. The last part of Hamilton's plan provided for the establishment of a national bank somewhat similar to the Bank of England. This bank was to be connected with the government and was to aid the government in certain financial matters. The bill establishing the bank passed both houses of Congress after strenuous opposition, and was signed by President Washington.

5. The
National
Bank.

265. The Permanent Seat of the Government was located on the

Potomac River. — It will be remembered that the permanent seat of the government had not been yet located. The Constitution provided that a piece of land, not exceeding ten miles square, should be set aside for this purpose, but it was not easy to fix the location. Both the North and the South wanted it, and Philadelphia wished to be chosen as the temporary seat. When Hamilton saw that his plan for the assumption of the state debts was likely to fail, he agreed with Jefferson that he would favor the location of the capital on the Potomac River in case Jefferson would favor his plan for the assuming of the state debts. It was so done. The temporary capital was located at Philadelphia for ten years, the permanent capital was located on the Potomac, and state debts to the amount of \$21,500,000¹ were assumed by the national government.

266. Political Parties and Foreign Affairs. — It will help us to understand some of the great questions of Washington's administration if we note the differences between the two great political parties. Since party matters and foreign affairs were very closely connected, it will be convenient to study the two subjects together.

Before the Revolution the political parties in America were the same as those in England, — the Whigs and the Tories. The Whigs, for the most part, were in favor of the Revolution, while the Tories were in sympathy with Great Britain. The Tory party vanished when independence was won and the Whigs were supreme.

Whigs and Tories before the Revolution.

From this time on the people of the United States were divided into political parties on questions of an American rather than a British character. The first great national question to divide the people in this way arose over the ratification of the Constitution. The Federalists were in favor of the adoption of the Constitution, while the Anti-federalists were opposed to such action. After the Constitution was adopted there was no reason for the existence of the Anti-federalists, and that party disappeared soon

Federalists and Anti-federalists at adoption of Constitution.

¹ Hamilton estimated the state debts to be \$25,000,000.

after the inauguration of the new government. The Federalists were in control of all departments.

Soon, however, new party lines were drawn, and at the close of Washington's first administration the two great parties were the Federalists and the Republicans.¹ Alexander Hamilton and John Adams were the leaders of the Federalists, while Thomas Jefferson was in supreme control of the Republican party.

France and England were at war at the time and the Republicans were in sympathy with France and wished to give her assistance. They said that France had aided the struggling colonies with men and money during the Revolution and that now her kindnesses should be repaid. The Federalists, on the other hand, sympathized with England, but were not so intense in their feelings as the Republicans were.

267. The Republicans were "Strict Constructionists" and the Federalists "Liberal Constructionists." — Another of the important differences between the two parties lay in their interpretation of the Constitution. Jefferson and his followers believed that the Constitution should be taken literally, and that Congress could do nothing except what it was authorized to do by the definite words of the Constitution. Hamilton and his followers, on the contrary, contended that the Constitution should be interpreted liberally, or freely, and that Congress had the power to do many things which were not set forth in the words of the Constitution. An example will probably serve to make this plainer. When Hamilton proposed to establish a national bank as a part of his financial plan, Jefferson and his followers said that the Constitution made no provision for the establishment of a bank, — that the word "bank" did not appear anywhere in the Constitution, — and hence Congress did not have the power to establish such an institution: in other words, Jefferson held that the establishment of a bank would be

¹ These were not the Republicans of the present day. The present Republican party was organized in 1854.

“unconstitutional.” Hamilton, on the other hand, said that the Constitution gave Congress the power to manage the financial affairs of the country, and that a national bank was a very necessary part of the financial machinery of the nation. He held that Congress had the power to do many things which were not set forth in exact words in the Constitution but which were implied. Hamilton and his followers soon came to be called “liberal constructionists,” while Jefferson and his party were called “strict constructionists.”

268. The Federalists favored the Upper Classes and the Republicans the Masses. — In addition to the above differences between the two great parties, one other should be noted. This one is of a more general and fundamental nature. The Federalists held that the government should be, for the most part, in the hands of the so-called upper classes; that is, in the hands of the educated and the wealthy. The Republicans held that the masses of the people should control governmental affairs. Hamilton distrusted the masses of the people, while Jefferson had great faith and confidence in them.

269. Genet, the French Minister, was Indiscreet and was Recalled. — The feeling between the Federalists and the Republicans was made more intense by the coming of Edmond Charles Genet, the French minister to the United States. He arrived on the 8th of April, 1793, and at once began to enlist men for the war with England, to commission privateers to prey upon British commerce, and to do many other things contrary to international law and to the wishes of a large part of the American people. Upon his arrival he was received so enthusiastically that he came to the conclusion that all America was in favor of France. At Philadelphia and at other cities he was welcomed by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, and large banquets were given in his honor — and all of this before he had presented his credentials to President Washington. These receptions tended to make him more bold and even impudent. When he did finally present his credentials to the President, on April 19, 1793, Washington told him very plainly

that his actions could not be tolerated. He paid no attention, however, to the orders of the government, but continued in his course. The result was that he was deserted by all, save a few violent sympathizers. The French Government was asked to recall him, and did so promptly. He did not return to France to live, however, but remained in the state of New York, married a daughter of Governor Clinton, devoted his attention to agriculture, and died in 1834.

270. Washington issued the Famous Proclamation of Neutrality on April 22, 1793. — The news that war had been declared between France and England reached America about the time of the arrival of Genet. These two events raised party feeling in America to a fever heat, and it seemed to be necessary for the United States to declare her position in regard to the two rival nations. Washington called a meeting of his Cabinet for the 19th of April, and on the 22d the famous Proclamation of Neutrality was published. This proclamation declared that the United States would take no part in the war between France and England, but would “pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers.” The citizens of the United States were also warned to keep out of the difficulty. The proclamation had a marked effect. It was the death-blow to the plans of Genet, and incensed the French party in the United States beyond measure. Washington was denounced as an enemy of free government, and the Federalists generally were abused. The proclamation, however, was a necessary, wise, and statesmanlike measure.

271. The Jay Treaty with Great Britain was Unpopular in the United States. — The Jay Treaty of 1795 also aroused a bitter hostility between the two great political parties. It will be remembered that a treaty of peace was made with Great Britain at the close of the Revolution in 1783. The results of this treaty, however, were not entirely satisfactory. Several of its provisions were not being carried out and some important questions had been left unsettled. Debts due to British creditors were not being paid as provided for in the treaty, and the

loyalists were not being compensated for their estates as had been recommended. On the other hand, the British refused to surrender the western posts, on the ground that the United States was not living up to its part of the treaty.

Then, too, new grievances grew out of the war between France and Great Britain. During this war England — and France, too — seized American ships and carried off their cargoes. American ships and American goods were safe nowhere. Indignation ran high, and especially against Great Britain, as the cruisers of that country were more numerous and made more captures. In addition to this the Americans were greatly incensed by an English practice known as “impressment.” American vessels were stopped upon the high seas and searched for seamen of British birth. If such were found, they were seized and impressed into the British service. If a sailor had been naturalized as an American citizen, it made no difference. He was impressed into the British service nevertheless. The British theory was, “Once an Englishman, always an Englishman.” Then, too, in many instances, native-born Americans were impressed into the British service. All of this was humiliating and stirred the government to action.

In this crisis, when the country was trembling on the verge of war, Washington appointed Chief Justice John Jay to go to England and to make one more attempt at a peaceful settlement of the difficulties. The appointment, which was a good one, was made on the 16th of April, 1794. Jay soon after went to England and began the negotiations with Lord Grenville, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The two men drafted a treaty, which was signed on the 19th of November, 1794. The treaty met with violent opposition in the United States. It was not a particularly favorable one, but was undoubtedly the best that could be gotten at the time. Some parts of it were violently assailed. The western posts were to be vacated by the British, but not until June 1, 1796. Many felt that they should be vacated at once. Then again the British would not agree

The treaty
was signed
November
19, 1794.

to pay for the slaves which were carried to England at the close of the Revolution, and the treaty contained no clause against the impressment of seamen.

On June 8, 1795, the treaty was sent to the Senate for ratification. The Republicans made a violent attack upon it, but it was ably defended by the Federalists. After a vigorous debate, lasting sixteen days, it was ratified by a strict party vote, with one article omitted.

Even after the treaty was ratified by the Senate the opposition to it did not cease. The House of Representatives threatened to

The treaty
was saved
by Fisher
Ames.

refuse to appropriate the money necessary to put it into effect. There was grave danger that the treaty would fail even then. It was probably saved by the eloquence and patriotism of Fisher Ames. On the 28th of April, 1796, he came into the House of Representatives, suffering from what was thought to be a fatal illness, and made a pathetic appeal to his fellow-members to keep the faith which had been pledged by the making of the treaty. He opened his speech by saying that he was so weak that he could speak only a few minutes, but he soon forgot his illness in the excitement of the moment and made a speech of considerable length and of great power. He urged his hearers to lay aside their prejudice against Great Britain and to appropriate the money necessary to carry out the treaty. A few days later the appropriation was duly made. Fisher Ames had saved the day, and the treaty went into effect.

272. Domestic Affairs.— Before bringing our study of Washington's administration to a close, it will be necessary to note a number of important domestic events.

The first United States census was taken, as provided by the Constitution, in 1790. It showed a population of 3,924,214

The first
census was
taken in
1790.

persons, including the slaves, who constituted about one fifth of the number. Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York were the largest states in point of population. Three new states — Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee — were admitted to the union during Washington's administrations.

We have already noticed that Congress voted to locate the permanent seat of the government on the Potomac River. In 1791 the location of the District of Columbia was definitely fixed, and the site for the capital city was chosen. The broad streets and avenues and the spacious squares were laid out as they now exist. Washington wished to call the future capital of the nation, "The Federal City," but the commissioners rightly insisted that it be called "Washington."

The District of Columbia was located in 1791.

The second Presidential election took place in the fall of 1792. Washington wished to retire at the end of his first term, but was persuaded that it was his patriotic duty to accept a second one. No other candidate was thought of—not even by the Republicans. The election of Washington was again unanimous, and John Adams was again chosen Vice President over George Clinton of New York.

Washington and Adams were re-elected in 1792.

Washington's first Cabinet had not been a harmonious one. Hamilton and Jefferson opposed each other "like fighting cocks," and Knox sided with the former and Randolph with the latter. During the second administration these four men retired from office, one by one, and an entirely new Cabinet was formed.

273. Washington's Farewell Address.—In September, 1796, Washington issued his now famous "Farewell Address," in the course of which he declared that he would not accept a third Presidential term. In this address he pleaded for national unity, obedience to law, religion, and morality. He urged the United States to "observe good faith and justice towards all nations," to keep out of "broils and wars," and to avoid "overgrown military establishments." This farewell address is one of the most sublime documents in American history, and no other man in all our annals could with equal fitness make a similar address.

274. The Third Presidential Election.—Washington's "Farewell Address" cleared the way for other candidates for the

Presidency. The Republicans would probably have attempted to defeat Washington if he had been a candidate for a third term. They must have realized, however, that the task would be a difficult, if not an impossible one, and were doubtless much relieved when Washington refused to be a candidate again.

The two parties turned at once to Thomas Jefferson and John Adams as their respective leaders. Among the Republicans there was no leader to be compared with Jefferson, while the leading men of the Federalist party were John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. The treaty with England had made Jay unpopular, and Hamilton had made too many enemies to be a strong candidate. John Adams was consequently made the standard bearer of his party. The campaign was a vigorous one, in which Adams and Jefferson were both held up to ridicule and abuse. When the votes were counted it was found that Adams had seventy-one and Jefferson sixty-eight; the former was consequently chosen President and the latter Vice President, and Washington soon after retired, to spend the closing years of his useful life in the peaceful shades of his beloved Mount Vernon.

Jefferson
and John
Adams were
the leaders
of the Re-
publican and
Federalist
parties, re-
spectively.

THE PRESIDENCY OF JOHN ADAMS, 1797-1801

275. Character of the Second President.—John Adams became President of the United States on March 4, 1797. He was a man of force and ability, of high ideals and sterling integrity. He was vain, irritable, and quick-tempered, but was at the same time a pure, high-minded, and patriotic man. He had made a good record in the Continental Congress, and had served with credit as minister to Great Britain, France, and Holland. He was, therefore, well prepared for the important duties of the Presidency. In fact, he was the best man available for the office in 1797. Washington was in retirement; Jefferson and Hamilton were more brilliant than Adams, but not so safe and reliable, and were, furthermore, too partial to France and Eng-

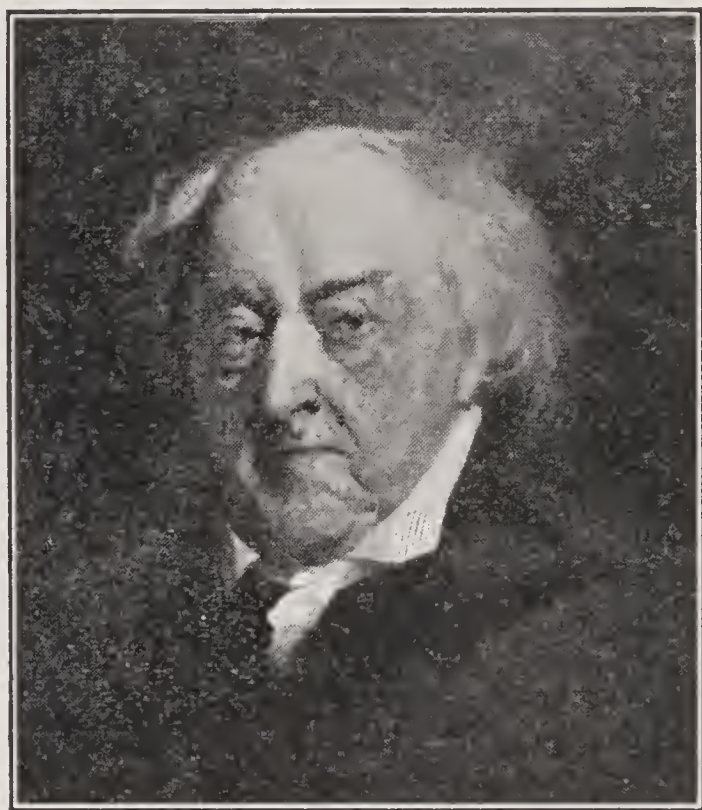
land, respectively ; and John Jay, although a man of great ability and spotless character, was not so energetic and determined as Adams, and was, in addition, somewhat partial to Great Britain.

276. France and the United States have a Serious Difficulty. —

The difficulty with France was the most important matter in Adams's administration in so far as foreign affairs were concerned. The trouble began in the previous administration. On March 28, 1794, Washington had appointed James Monroe minister to France. The appointment was an unfortunate one, and the work of Monroe proved a miserable failure. He was violently opposed to Great Britain and in hearty sympathy with France in every particular. The result was that he did many indiscreet things, and was censured by Mr. Randolph, the Secretary of State, and later recalled by Washington.

General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, a prominent member of the Constitutional Convention, and an able, honest, and sensible man, was appointed to succeed Monroe. Pinckney arrived in France on the 15th of November, 1796, but the government, angered by the recall of Monroe, refused to receive him and in February of the following year sent him notice that he must leave France at once or be turned over to the police authorities. Pinckney immediately went to Holland, and there awaited further instructions from his government.

President Adams was indignant, and rightly so, at the treat-



JOHN ADAMS.

One of the founders of the American nation, born in Massachusetts, 1735. He graduated from Harvard, taught school, and became a lawyer. He was one of the Revolutionary patriots and was eagerly sought after by the British. They tried to arrest him and bring him to England for trial. He was a member of the committee which drafted the Declaration of Independence, in which several changes were made at his suggestion. He was minister to France and our first minister to England. He died on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

ment which his minister had received; but being desirous of avoiding a war with France, he appointed a commission, consisting of Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, John Marshall of Virginia, and Mr. Pinckney, to go to France and make another effort to adjust the difficulty. These men appeared in France in the fall of 1797, but were not able to accomplish anything. They were not even given a satisfactory hearing by the French government. Disappointed and impatient of delay, they were about to abandon the project, when finally, on the 18th of October, a messenger came from Talleyrand, the French foreign minister, saying that it would be necessary for the Americans to pay a sum of money to Talleyrand and certain other officers of the government before they could obtain a hearing. In short, a bribe of £50,000 was asked for. This, of course, was indignantly refused. Later other representatives of the French government, designated in the official correspondence of the time as W, X, Y, and Z, made similar demands. "Gentlemen," said X, "you do not speak to the point. It is money. It is expected that you will offer money." "We have spoken to that point," said the envoys, "very explicitly." "No," said X, "you have not. What is your answer?" "It is No! No! not a sixpence." On the 29th of October the Americans were bluntly informed that they must pay the money or leave Paris. Soon after, Marshall and Pinckney asked for their passports and abandoned the negotiations. Gerry, who remained, was censured by the government and recalled in a dispatch of the 25th of June, 1798.

When the news of the disgraceful X Y Z affair reached the United States, the indignation of the people burst all bounds. President Adams sent a stirring message to Congress on the subject, and active preparations were made for war. The President said that he considered the negotiations at an end, and closed his message with this famous and patriotic sentence: "I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the represen-

An American commission is sent to France.

French officers ask bribes.

tative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." That sentence struck a responsive chord in the breasts of the people. In the meantime the United States was getting ready for the war which seemed inevitable. In fact, war already existed between the two countries in everything but name. French cruisers were attacking American merchant boats, and Americans were retaliating as best they could. Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the American forces, and patriotically accepted the appointment. Early in 1799 the American cruiser *Constellation* captured the French *Insurgente*, and a declaration of war was momentarily expected.

There is
danger of
war.

President Adams, however, saw that the United States was in no condition for war, and labored to bring about a peaceable but honorable solution of the difficulty. Talleyrand professed to be amazed when the papers in the X Y Z affair were made public, and protested that he knew nothing of the attempted bribery. He also said that France would receive the ministers of the United States at any time with the greatest of pleasure. Here was a remarkable change of front, and Adams determined to take advantage of it. On February 25, 1799, he appointed Oliver Ellsworth, Patrick Henry, and William Vans Murray a commission to go to France for the purpose of settling the difficulties between the two countries. Mr. Henry declined the appointment because of the infirmities of old age, and President Adams selected Governor William R. Davie of North Carolina in his stead. After considerable delay, these three men reached Paris in the spring of 1800. Their reception was all that could be desired. "We were received," they wrote, "with the respect due to the character which we had the honor to bear." The negotiations were taken up, and a treaty was made and duly signed on the 30th of September, 1800.

A new
commission
settles the
difficulty
and makes a
treaty with
France.

The treaty was not a popular one, but was fairly favorable to the United States, and averted war for the time. Certain captured ships were to be returned by the two nations, and property captured, but not yet condemned, was

to be mutually restored. Individual and national debts were to be paid, and a better understanding was reached in regard to contraband goods. The signing of the treaty concluded an exciting and perilous chapter in American history.

277. Domestic Affairs were influenced by Party Strife.— The domestic events of importance in Adams's administration centered around the contentions of the two political parties. Party strife in the United States was never more bitter than at this time. The Republicans and Federalists looked upon each other with distrust and contempt, and the differences were personal as well as political. In addition to this, the two great leaders of the Federalist party — Adams and Hamilton — were political enemies.

278. Adams continued Washington's Cabinet, which was not Loyal to him.— President Adams made the first serious mistake of his administration in retaining in office the Cabinet of Washington. It seemed at the time to be the proper thing to do. The administration of Adams was looked upon as a continuation of that of Washington. For this reason it seemed best to retain the old Cabinet. It was a mistake, however. The Cabinet members were not loyal to Adams, but intrigued against him in a most unpardonable way. They looked upon Hamilton as the real leader of the Federalists, and had but little respect for Adams. When the President became aware of this state of things, he compelled some of the members to resign and reorganized his Cabinet. This step, however, increased the bitterness in the Federalist party.

279. Obnoxious Acts were passed by the Federalists.— Party feeling reached its greatest height in the passage of the Naturalization Act, the Alien and Sedition acts, and the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799. It will be necessary to consider these important measures separately.

The Federalists had been greatly annoyed for a long time by the violent abuse of the Republican papers. Many of the editors of these papers were foreigners and were thus doubly objectionable. The party in power determined to strike a blow

at these "democratic scribblers," as they were called, and the summer of 1798 seemed to be an especially favorable time. The publication of the X Y Z papers in the previous spring had aroused a wave of popular indignation against France, French editors, and French sympathizers in general. The Federalists consequently made ready to give their opponents the finishing stroke. To this end a series of acts were passed, the first of which was the Naturalization Act of June 18, 1798. This act provided that a foreigner would have to be a resident of the United States for at least fourteen years before becoming eligible to citizenship. The period of residence before this time had been five years.

The Naturalization Act.

Many of the enemies of the Federalists could not be reached by the Naturalization Act, hence another measure, known as the Alien Act, was passed a week later — June 25, 1798. Under this act the President had the power to order a foreigner from the country within a certain time in case he considered him "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." President Adams, however, never made use of the power thus given to him.

The Alien Act.

The next act to be passed by the vindictive Federalists was the Alien Enemies Act of July 6, 1798. This act provided that in time of war all males fourteen years of age and upward who were subjects of the hostile government were liable to arrest and removal as "alien enemies." The execution of the act was placed in the hands of the President.

The Alien Enemies Act.

Next in order was the Sedition Act of July 14, 1798. This act provided for a fine and imprisonment for writing or publishing any article intended to bring the government officials into contempt or disrepute. The purpose of the act was to silence the criticisms of the Republican editors. The abusive articles of the Federalist papers were, however, unnoticed by the government. A few editors were prosecuted under the Sedition Act, but the hostile criticism was not silenced. It was probably increased, and the Federalists soon saw that they

The Sedition Act.

had made a gigantic blunder. It would have been wiser on their part to ignore the attacks of the Republican editors.

280. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions were Protests against the Acts passed by the Federalists. — At last the people objected. These unwise Federalist measures resulted in the drafting of the famous Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799. Jefferson and Madison were the authors of the resolutions, and by this means they protested against the government's "rod of iron," and said that Congress did not have the right to assume such vast powers.

The first set of Kentucky resolutions was drafted by Jefferson and passed by the legislature of Kentucky on November 16, 1798. In the main, these resolutions were an argument against the powers of the general government and in favor of "State Rights." The offensive Federalist acts above mentioned were loudly condemned and declared to be "void and of no effect."

The Virginia resolutions were drafted by Madison, and passed by the legislature of the state on the 24th of December, 1798. The main purpose of the resolutions was the same as that of those passed by Kentucky, but they were more moderate and reasonable.

On the 22d of November, 1799, the legislature of Kentucky passed a second set of resolutions. In these it was expressly stated that the several states had the undoubted right to declare null and void any law passed by Congress which seemed to be unauthorized by the Constitution. The offensive laws were again declared to be unconstitutional, and a "solemn *protest*" was made against them.

The claim that the states had the right to pass upon the constitutionality of a law of Congress now seems ridiculous. It is clear that the Supreme Court of the United States is the proper authority to do this. The majority of the people of the time saw this clearly enough. When the various sets of resolutions were sent to the legislatures of the other states they received little or no sympathy. The nullification doctrines of Jefferson and Madison were not indorsed then and have not

been since,¹ though the majority of the people may have believed in 1799 that the general government had gone beyond its powers.

281. Washington died at Mount Vernon, December 14, 1799. — On December 14, 1799, while the people were engaged in a lively debate on the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, George Washington, the strong staff upon which the nation had leaned in time of stress, passed away. Although his career seemed rounded out and complete, his death was nevertheless a great loss to the nation and a blow to the prospects of the Federalist party. Tobias Lear, Washington's private secretary, in sending to President Adams the news of the death of his chief, wrote: "His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life; not a groan, nor a complaint, escaped him in extreme distress. With perfect resignation, and in full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life."

282. The Election of 1800. — The quarrel between Hamilton and Adams came to a climax in the election of 1800. Adams wished to be reëlected, and Hamilton made an effort to keep him from getting the nomination. Finding this impossible, he worked against him in an underhanded way during the campaign. John Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney were the Federalist candidates and Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr represented the Republicans. Hamilton wrote a letter in which he said in substance that Adams was totally unfitted for the Presidency, but that he would advise his friends to vote for him nevertheless. The result of the election is soon told. Jefferson and Burr each received seventy-three votes; Adams, sixty-five; Pinckney, sixty-four; and John Jay, one. There was no choice, and the election of the President was thrown, for the first time, into the House of Representatives. Jefferson was finally chosen President and Burr Vice President, and the supremacy of

Jefferson
is chosen
President
and Burr
Vice Presi-
dent.

¹ It is fair to say, however, that Jefferson and Madison did not realize the full meaning of the dangerous doctrines which they were advocating. These doctrines now appear in a very different light.

the Federalist party was over. It never recovered from its defeat in 1800. John Adams, however, lived on for a quarter of a century. He died on the evening of July 4, 1826, at the age of ninety-one. His last words were: "Thomas Jefferson still lives." He did not know that Jefferson had passed away a few hours before.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1789-1797. Washington's Administrations.
- 1791. District of Columbia Located.
- 1793. Proclamation of Neutrality.
- 1795. The Jay Treaty with Great Britain.
- 1796. Washington's Farewell Address.
- 1797-1801. John Adams's Administration.
- 1798. Naturalization Act, Alien Act, Sedition Act.
- 1798-1799. Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.
- 1799. Death of Washington.
- 1800. Election of Jefferson.

CHAPTER XXII

THE UNITED STATES IN 1800

283. Little Progress was made in the Closing Years of the Eighteenth Century. — Before taking up the story of Jefferson's administrations it will be well for us to note briefly the general social condition of the country at the close of the eighteenth century. The account will be a disappointing one in some respects, as not much progress was being made. In fact, the closing years of the century were a period of stagnation. It is pleasing to note, however, that they were followed by an epoch of brilliant advancement.

284. The Census of 1800. — The census of 1800 showed a substantial increase in population. There were 5,308,483 people in the United States, as against 3,929,214 in 1790. About one fifth of the population was negro slaves. Virginia was still the most populous state, with Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina, and Massachusetts following in the order named.

The population in 1790 was 3,929,214; in 1800, 5,308,483.

The five millions of people were scattered over three hundred thousand square miles of territory. About three and one-half millions of them were located within easy reach of the ocean, and the remainder in the interior. Kentucky and Tennessee were known as the "far West," and only a few settlements had been made in the Ohio territory. Towns had been started at Marietta, Cincinnati, and Chillicothe, and there were a few tents where Cleveland now stands.

The area of the United States in 1800 was 300,000 square miles.

285. The Cities in 1800. — The cities were small in size and few in number. Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Boston, and Charleston, with populations ranging from seventy thou-

sand to twenty thousand, were the five largest cities, in the order named. Philadelphia was the leading city in the United States, not only in population, but in education, culture, and municipal improvements as well. The city was partially drained, some of its streets were paved, and provisions were made for lighting and policing. Water was supplied by means of a system of wooden pipes, and the city jail is said to have been a "model" one, although prisoners soon perished from confinement in it.

Philadelphia
was the
largest city.

Washington was a city only in name. The Capitol was there, but it was not finished in 1800. On the 17th of November, of that year, Congress met in the city of Washington for the first time. The city was beautifully located and was planned on a magnificent scale, but it had only a few, unfinished buildings in the midst of the wilderness. The contrast between Philadelphia and Washington must have been striking. Mrs. Adams, wife of the President, writing on the 21st of November, 1800, spoke of the dense forests which surrounded the government buildings and complained of the scarcity of wood for fuel. She was obliged to endure many inconveniences because of the unfinished condition of the Presidential mansion, later known as the "White House."

There was
almost nothing
in 1800
where the
city of
Washington
now stands.

286. Indented Servants were bound to Service for a Term of Years. — In addition to the million of negro slaves, the indented servants practically became slaves for a term of years. These men agreed to work for some one for a period of three to eight years for their passage to the United States. At the end of that time they were free to do as they pleased. It is perhaps needless to say that the system led to many cruelties. Masters in too many instances were intent only upon getting as much money as possible from the labor of their servants. In one instance a ship captain appeared at Philadelphia during an epidemic of yellow fever and offered his shipload of indented servants as nurses. In selling the labor of the servants, family ties were often disregarded and families separated.

287. Agriculture was the Most Important Industry. — Agriculture was the most important industry, especially in the South. Manufacturing was in its infancy, but commerce was extensive and profitable. In 1800 about 1,200,000 barrels of flour and 2,000,000 bushels of wheat were exported. Tobacco, rice, and indigo were the most important exports from the South; but cotton, owing to the invention of the cotton gin, was rapidly coming into prominence (§ 373).

288. The Stagecoach, the Principal Vehicle, was Slow and Uncomfortable. — It was impossible, however, for agriculture, manufacturing, or commerce to make any very great advance without better facilities for transportation. The heavy, clumsy, and uncomfortable stagecoach was the principal vehicle for land travel. It was a huge, boxlike affair, without glass windows, doors, or steps, and provided with side curtains of leather to be used in stormy weather. These rude coaches, drawn by bony horses in harness of rope, lumbered along at the rate of forty miles a day in summer and twenty-five in winter. The day, however, began at three o'clock in the morning and ended at ten o'clock at night. In 1783 two of these coaches handled the passenger traffic, and a part of the freight as well, between New York and Boston. In many instances in stagecoach travel the passengers were obliged to get out and push in order to get the vehicle out of the mud. Spots of quicksand were marked by stakes to warn travelers to avoid them, and in many instances it was necessary to go through fields and take an entirely new course. The great rivers were not bridged, and the coaches crossed on the ice in winter and on rude ferryboats in summer. In the breaking-up time of the spring and during the early winter, when the ice was not strong, the passage was often very dangerous.

289. The Steam Engine was invented in 1769. — No great progress could be made in transportation without the use of steam power. James Watt had invented the steam engine in 1769, but not much use had been made of the invention in America. It is said that there were but three steam engines

in the United States in 1803. Steam power had not yet been successfully applied to transportation. The locomotive was a thing of the future and a practical steamboat had not yet been constructed. John Fitch and James Rumsey had shown that boats could be propelled by steam power, but it remained for Robert Fulton, in 1807, to apply the power to navigation in a

practical way. As a matter of fact, there was a popular prejudice against such inventions. People laughed at "Fulton's Folly," and in May, 1803, Mr. Benjamin H. Latrobe, the leading engineer in the United States, declared that the attempt to propel boats by steam power would end in failure. He said

Latrobe
thought
that steam
power could
never be
used to pro-
pel boats.

that the engine and fuel were too heavy and occupied too much space; that the motion of the engine strained the boat and made it leaky; that the expense of maintenance was too great; and that the paddles or oars were likely to break. He would probably open his eyes in astonishment if he could see a modern ocean liner, more than 700 feet long, nearly 80 feet wide, and more than 50 feet deep, plowing the seas at the rate of 25 miles an hour and with three thousand people on board.

290. A Profitable Commerce was carried on with China and the West Indies. — In the latter part of the eighteenth century there was an important commerce with China and the Great East. It was no easy task to make these extensive voyages with the imperfect nautical appliances of the time, yet a boy of nineteen took a ship from Calcutta to Boston with no chart to guide him except a small map of the world taken from one of the school geographies. Vessels returning from the Orient brought tea, coffee, muslin, silks, and other valuable products. West Indian commerce was also varied and profitable. One vessel is said to have carried "provisions, brick, and lumber, twenty horses, seventeen cattle, seventeen mules, twenty sheep, twenty swine, one hundred and fifty geese, and one hundred turkeys. The return cargo included rum, molasses, sugar, wine, pimento, pepper, tamarinds, sweetmeats, anise-seed, coffee, cotton, tobacco, indigo, and salt."

291. Ships were built in New England and Philadelphia. — The commerce of the time, together with the whale and cod fisheries, made a great demand for ships. The shipbuilding industry thus became an important one. Most of the best ships were made in New England, but the Philadelphia builders also did good work. A vessel of three hundred tons was considered a “large ship.” Ocean steamships are now being made as large as 20,000 tons.

The mast trade also flourished in connection with the shipbuilding industry. The tall, straight pines of New England made splendid masts for sailing ships. The American mast was also prominent in foreign shipyards. James Allen, an early poet, in reminding England of this fact, said: —

The mast
trade was
important.

“E’en the tall mast, that bears your flag on high,
Grew in our soil, and ripened in our sky.”

292. Intellectual Progress. — Not much intellectual progress was being made at the close of the century. The public school system had not yet been established in all the states, and the colleges were small and the instruction poor. In 1800 the faculty of Harvard College consisted of seven members, and Wild, an English traveler, declared that Princeton better deserved the title of a grammar school than of a college.

Schools and
colleges
were small,
poor, and
few in num-
ber.

American literature was in its infancy. Philip Freneau had written a few poems of some merit, and the writings of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine were widely read. President Timothy Dwight of Yale College was known as an essayist, a writer of travel, and a poet. John Marshall wrote his valuable “Life of Washington” in 1800, and Charles Brockden Brown, a writer of romance, poetry, history, and geography, has the distinction of being “the first American who adopted letters as his sole profession.” On the whole, no great advance had been made. The golden age of Irving, Cooper, and Bryant was still in the future.

American
literature
was in its
infancy.

The preacher, especially in New England, was a man of great influence. Books were scarce and newspapers and magazines almost unknown, and the life of the people was molded, in large part, by the teachings of the pulpit. The sermons of the pastor were long and his labor difficult, but his salary was small and in many cases not promptly paid. It was frequently paid, too, not in money, but in turnips, corn, beans, and bacon.

In spite of the labors of the clergy, the moral plane of the time was not high. Drinking, profanity, and rough-and-tumble fights were very common in the taverns of the time. There has been a great advance in this respect in the last hundred years. Practices that would not be tolerated now were then allowed to go on without protest.

The physician was an important member of the community. His medical education was not very good when compared to that of a physician of to-day, but he was usually an intelligent man and did much to relieve suffering. In the country districts he was expected to attend all who were in need of his services, and then collect his fees if he could. The drugs necessary for the patient were usually supplied from his saddlebags. His fees were small, and his work was made difficult by long trips through the wilderness and over the worst of roads.

The industrial and intellectual prospects of the United States were not brilliant in 1800, but as we look back at the time after the lapse of a century it is evident that a new era was about to dawn. The opening of the new century marks the beginning of a period of wonderful progress in all lines of activity. We shall have occasion to note this progress from time to time in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PERIOD OF REPUBLICAN CONTROL

1801-1825

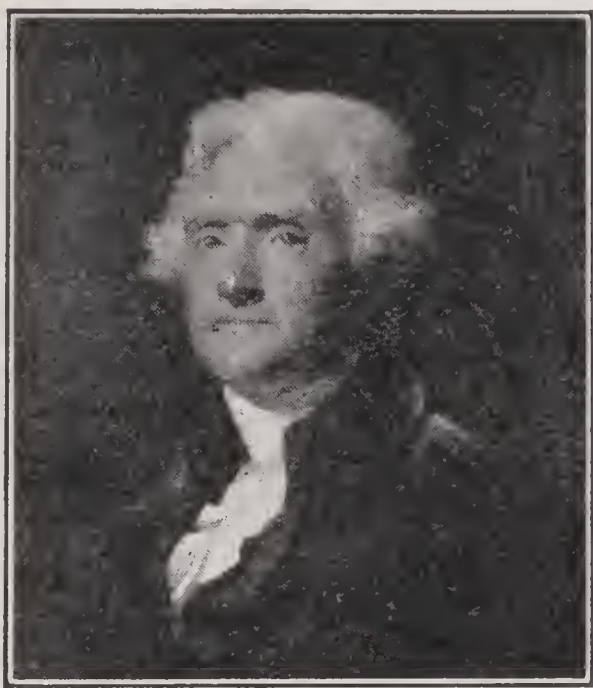
293. The Masses of the People greeted Jefferson's Election with Delight. — We noticed in a previous chapter that the Federalists were defeated in the election of 1800. The transfer of governmental authority from the Federalists to the Republicans is an important event in American history. The triumph of Jefferson and the Republicans was hailed with delight all over the country except in some parts of New England. Bells and guns of every sort were pressed into service after the election, to express the joy of the Republicans. Again, on Inauguration Day, the bells rang, the cannons boomed, and business was quite generally suspended. It was felt by Jefferson and his followers that the control of the government had passed from the hands of the so-called "*upper classes*" into those of the *people*. The Federalists, on the other hand, were much depressed. They felt that the "ship of state" was in the control of an ignorant rabble and was in danger of being wrecked.

294. The Inauguration was a Simple Ceremony. — The inauguration was not an impressive ceremony. Jefferson was the first President to be inaugurated in Washington. The city was new and crude, and the Republicans were not in favor of useless display. The new President walked to the Capitol in the company of a few friends and quietly took the oath of office.

The inaugural address had been awaited with great eagerness. It was regarded not only as the utterance of a great man, but as the platform of a party which was being intrusted for the first time with the management of national affairs. Jefferson was broad-minded in his hour of triumph, and tried in his address to

The inaugural address was conciliatory.

conciliate his opponents. "Let us then, fellow-citizens," he said, "unite with one heart and one mind and labor for the



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

"The man of the people" was born in Virginia in 1743. He was graduated from William and Mary College and became a lawyer. He served in the Virginia legislature and in the Continental Congress. He was governor of Virginia, minister to France, Secretary of State, and twice elected President of the United States. He was opposed to slavery, and took steps looking to emancipation. With some assistance from others he devised our present decimal currency system. His motto was "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." He was buried at Monticello, Virginia, and over his grave is a monument of granite bearing an inscription composed by himself. It reads as follows: "Here lies buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia." He died July 4, 1826—the fiftieth anniversary of the famous Declaration.

welfare of the country." "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists," he exclaimed, in another part of the address. This was not strictly true, but it may have served to soften somewhat the intense party feeling of the time.

295. Madison and Gallatin were the Ablest Men in the Cabinet. — One of Jefferson's first duties was to reorganize and strengthen the Cabinet. James Madison, the defender of the Constitution, was appointed Secretary of State and Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts Secretary of War. Levi Lincoln, also of Massachusetts, was made Attorney-General. Samuel Dexter, Secretary of the Treasury under Adams, was retained by Jefferson for a short time, and was then succeeded by Albert Gallatin, the noted Swiss. After being offered to at least five different men, the Secretaryship of the Navy was accepted by Robert Smith, a Baltimore lawyer. The Cabinet as thus constituted was a harmonious, loyal, and fairly able body of men; although Madison and Gallatin were the only members of first-class importance.

296. Jefferson sent his Message to Congress in Writing. — Jefferson's

first message to Congress was an important one, as it outlined, in a general way, the course which legislation would probably

take. It is also interesting as being the first message sent to Congress in writing. Washington and Adams had delivered their messages orally. Jefferson's friends said that it was more businesslike to send a message in writing, while his enemies declared that he changed the original method because he was a good writer, but a very poor public speaker. It is certain that it would not now be practicable for a President to deliver his messages orally. They are very long, and are read by several clerks in the presence of the two Houses.

297. The Membership of the House was Increased. — The second census was taken in 1800, and made necessary a new apportionment of representatives. The ratio was fixed at one representative for every thirty-three thousand inhabitants, and the membership of the House was increased from one hundred and five to one hundred and forty-one.

On November 29, 1802, Ohio, with forty-five thousand people, was admitted into the union as the seventeenth state.

298. The Judiciary Act of 1801 was repealed in 1802. — Just before going out of power the Federalist party passed an act creating additional federal courts, and John Adams sat up until nearly midnight on March 3, 1801, making appointments under the act. The Republicans were opposed to the whole matter. They said that the new judgeships were not necessary, but were created in order to provide life tenure offices for prominent Federalists. The act was promptly repealed by the Republicans in March, 1802, and many of Adams's "midnight appointments" never went into effect.

299. Jefferson reduced Taxes and cut down Expenses of the Government. — It was a part of the programme of Republican simplicity to retrench, or to cut down the running expenses of the government. By an act of April 6, 1802, the Republicans repealed the laws levying internal taxes. These taxes had long been unpopular, and had caused the "Whisky Rebellion" and other insurrections. Now that these taxes had been abolished, it was necessary to reduce the expenses of the government.

These expenditures had increased with great rapidity during the last few years. In 1793 the expenses of the general government were \$3,800,000, and in 1800 they were, in round numbers, \$11,000,000. Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, made a plan whereby the expenses were to be reduced and the national debt paid off. The plan seemed to work well. The income from customs duties was increased, the cost of the

The army and navy was greatly decreased, and in a short time the national debt was reduced fifty per cent. This, on the face of it, was an excellent showing, but it should be borne in mind that fortifications were not

kept up, officers and men had been dismissed from the army, the navy had been allowed to dwindle, and the expenditure of large sums of money would be necessary to prepare the country for war. The War of 1812 showed that some of Jefferson's retrenchments were not wise.

300. The Naturalization Period was reduced from Fourteen Years to Five Years in 1802. — The Naturalization Act of 1798 was odious to the Republicans. It was accordingly repealed on April 14, 1802, and the term of residence for citizenship was reduced from fourteen years to five years, where it still remains.

301. The Twelfth Amendment was added in 1804. — The election of 1800 had shown that there was a serious defect in the working of the electoral college. As a result of this the method of electing President and Vice President was radically changed on September 25, 1804, by means of the twelfth amendment, which is still in force (§ 212).

302. Jefferson was reëlected in 1804 by an Enormous Majority. — The election of 1804 was thus the first to be held under the remodeled electoral college. The contest was one-sided and was not an especially interesting one. The people were overwhelmingly in favor of Jefferson and the Republicans, and the Federalist party was practically dead. The Republicans carried every state except Connecticut and Delaware. George Clinton of New York was chosen Vice President.

303. Hamilton was killed by Burr in a Duel in 1804. — Aaron Burr, who was Vice President at the time, was not thought of. He was looked upon by the people of all parties with contempt. Burr was a candidate for the governorship of New York in 1804, and Alexander Hamilton, not considering him a worthy man, opposed him very vigorously. Stung to desperation by the attacks of Hamilton, Burr challenged him to fight a duel. Hamilton, with his usual personal bravery, but with a false sense of honor, accepted the challenge. The two men met in mortal combat at Weehawken, New York, on July 11, 1804, and Hamilton fell mortally wounded. On the following day, at the early age of forty-seven, the ablest of that brilliant group of constitutional statesmen passed away. The death of Hamilton made Burr an outcast, and no one thought of him as a successor to himself in the Vice Presidency.

304. Louisiana was purchased from France for \$15,000,000 in 1803. — The most important event in Jefferson's administration — in fact, one of the most important events in American history — was the purchase of the Louisiana territory from France in 1803. It should be stated that Louisiana at this time extended from Canada on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and from the Mississippi River on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west. This vast territory was obtained for France, as we have seen, by the work of her early explorers. In 1763 France gave the part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and the island of New Orleans, to Spain, to compensate her for the loss of Florida. France regretted the loss of the territory and succeeded in inducing Spain to give it back to her by the treaty of 1800, in return for some Italian territory. It was thought best to keep the matter a secret for reasons which will appear later.

It should be said at this point that a very small part of the Louisiana territory lay on the east side of the Mississippi River. The city of New Orleans and a small tract of surrounding land were thus located. This gave the Spaniards the control of the mouth of the river — a very important matter from the stand-

point of commerce. The Americans were exceedingly anxious to obtain control of the mouth of the river, as a large part of their commerce was finding an outlet in this direction. They obtained a "right of deposit" from the Spaniards by treaty in 1795. This means that the Americans were allowed to deposit their goods, carried in river boats, at New Orleans and then reship them in ocean vessels after paying the Spaniards a fee for the privilege of so doing.

When it was rumored in the fall of 1801 that Louisiana had been given back to France, there was great excitement in the United States. France was a strong nation and Spain a weak one at the time, and it was feared that our commerce would be entirely shut off from the Mississippi. The people of the West became wildly excited, and there was talk of taking possession of Louisiana by force of arms. The excitement was made more intense when, on the 16th of October, 1802, the "right of deposit" was taken away by proclamation of the Spanish governor.

The West demanded control of the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Robert R. Livingston of New York was the American minister to France at the time, and he was directed to purchase, if possible, the island of New Orleans. France would not listen to such a proposition and Livingston could make no progress. Finally, on January 11, 1803, President Jefferson appointed James Monroe of Virginia to go to France to assist Livingston. It seemed to most men of the time that Livingston and Monroe were attempting to do that which was impossible, and that Napoleon, who was at the head of French affairs, would never part with Louisiana, as he was desirous of building up a magnificent French empire in America. Just when things seemed darkest, the whole matter suddenly cleared up. Up to this time Talleyrand, the Foreign Secretary, and Napoleon had steadfastly refused to part with even that small amount of land upon which the city of New Orleans stood; now they offered to sell to Livingston the *whole* of Louisiana territory. The cause for this sudden change of mind was the fact that Napoleon

feared that Great Britain was about to seize his American possessions. He decided, therefore, that he would prefer to sell Louisiana to the United States rather than have it fall into the hands of his enemy, England. Livingston and Monroe were amazed. They had neither the authority nor the money to purchase the entire territory, but wisely concluded that they should not let the opportunity slip of adding such a magnificent domain to the United States. They accordingly accepted the proposition, and agreed by a treaty, signed April 30, 1803, to pay fifteen million dollars for the territory of Louisiana.

Livingston and Monroe signed the treaty, April 30, 1803.

When the terms of the treaty became known in the United States there was great astonishment. On the whole, the people were delighted, but Jefferson was perplexed. He was a "strict constructionist," and could find no clause in the Constitution which authorized the purchase of territory on such a large scale. He wished, however, to retain Louisiana and to have the Constitution amended in such a way as to make the purchase constitutional. His friends finally persuaded him that territory could be acquired under the treaty-making power of the Constitution and that no amendment was necessary; hence none was made.

Jefferson was not sure that the purchase was constitutional.

By this purchase the area of the United States was doubled. Louisiana contained five hundred and sixty million acres. Its area was more than seven times that of Great Britain and Ireland; it was larger than Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Italy combined. Twelve states and two territories now occupy this vast domain, and its population is nearly fifteen millions, or about one fifth of that of the entire country.

The area of the United States was doubled by the Louisiana Purchase.

305. Barbary Pirates were plundering American Ships upon the High Seas. — There are some other foreign affairs which, at this point, should receive attention. American commerce, at this time, was not safe even upon the high seas. American ships,

and the ships of European nations, also, were being plundered by the pirates from the Barbary States of northern Africa. In 1803, the navy of the United States moved against Tripoli, and in 1805 Commodore Preble compelled that power to cease its attacks upon American ships and to make a treaty. This step was a surprise to the remaining Barbary States, and they, too, ceased their depredations.

The American navy defeated Tripoli in 1805, and the depredations ceased.

306. France and Britain also plunder American Ships. — The worst attacks, however, upon American commerce were made, not by the Barbary States, but by France and Great Britain. These two nations were not hostile to America, but they were at war with one another, and neither hesitated to strike American commerce in case the other could be injured by so doing. According to international law, ships are not allowed to enter a “blockaded” port, and if they do so are liable to capture and confiscation. In order that a port may be said to be “blockaded,” however, there must be ships stationed near by to prevent trading boats from entering. In that case if a vessel “runs the blockade” it must suffer the consequences if caught. There must be, however, a blockading fleet; yet in this case France and Britain simply declared certain ports to be in a state of blockade, but sent no fleets to put the decrees into effect. Then they captured American vessels anywhere on the high seas if bound to or from blockaded ports. This is called a “paper blockade,” and is not warranted by the law of nations. Yet in this way many American ships were seized by the cruisers of France and England, and their cargoes condemned and sold.

307. American Seamen are impressed into the British Service. — In addition to this the British insisted upon the “right of search” and of “impressment.” The right of search is permitted by international law for certain definite purposes, such as for the detection of piracy or the presence of goods which are “contraband of war”; this right, however, was much abused by Great Britain. That power also insisted upon searching

American ships for British sailors, and upon impressing them, when found, into the British service. Here, too, there were many abuses. In some cases Englishmen who had been naturalized in the United States were taken from American boats and pressed into the service of England, and in many cases native-born American citizens were similarly treated. In this way thousands of American sailors were wrongfully impressed into the British service. President Jefferson and the whole people were naturally indignant and sought a remedy for the wrong that was being done.

308. Jefferson was not in Favor of War. — The attacks upon our commerce would have been a just cause for war against either France or England, but Jefferson preferred a peaceable policy. He saw that the United States was not ready to enter into war against either one of these great nations. However, he made preparations for war and sent two envoys to Great Britain to negotiate a treaty.

James Monroe and William Pinckney were the men sent, but the treaty which they obtained was so objectionable that it was never sent to the Senate for ratification. In the meantime the outrages on American commerce continued. The climax was reached on June 22, 1807. On this date the British frigate *Leopard* fired upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*, near Hampton Roads. The American vessel was caught unawares, overpowered, and compelled to surrender. The whole nation was aroused. Men wore crape in honor of the *Chesapeake's* dead, and cried out for war. "Never," said Jefferson in a letter to Lafayette, "since the battle of Lexington, have I seen the country in such a state of exasperation as at present."

309. The Embargo Act was passed, December, 1807. — As a remedy for this state of affairs Jefferson suggested his famous Embargo policy. On the 22d of December, 1807, a bill embodying the President's idea was passed. This law prohibited American ships from leaving for a foreign port under any condition. Commerce was to be stopped and American ships and American sailors were to be protected by being

kept safely in American harbors. Then, too, France and England were to be injured by being deprived of American goods.

The law was a failure and was repealed, 1809.

The law was a flat failure. Shipowners were not in favor of it, it was found impossible to enforce it, and France and England received the measure with laughter. Jefferson finally admitted that his policy was a failure, and the Embargo Act was repealed

March 1, 1809.

310. A Non-intercourse Act was passed, 1809. — On the same day a Non-intercourse Act was passed, cutting off commercial intercourse with Great Britain and France. This act was to remain in force for a short time only.

In the closing scenes of his administration Jefferson took but little part. In January of 1809 he said: "I am now so near

Jefferson's second administration was not so successful as his first.

retiring that I take no part in affairs beyond the expression of an opinion. . . . Five weeks more will relieve me from a drudgery to which I am no longer equal." Jefferson's first administration was a great success, but it must be admitted that the second was not.

311. Domestic Affairs. — Although the chief interest in Jefferson's second administration centers in foreign affairs, there are a few domestic matters which should not pass unnoticed.

The most sensational of these domestic affairs was the conspiracy of Aaron Burr. After his duel with Alexander Hamil-

Aaron Burr attempted to found an empire in the Southwest.

ton, Burr became a political and social outcast. His business affairs, too, were in an unsatisfactory condition. He was accordingly in a proper frame of mind for a desperate enterprise, and planned an expedition to the Southwest. There is even now

a great deal of doubt in regard to what Burr really intended to do, but it is probable that he wished to make a conquest of Mexico and the Spanish possessions, and to cut off a large part of the southwestern territory from the United States. He wished to organize this vast domain into an empire under the leadership of himself and his daughter Theodosia.

His scheme was fascinating in many respects, and attracted many reckless adventurers.

In December, 1806, Burr got together a party of men at Blennerhasset's Island, in the Ohio River, and started down stream. In January, 1807, he reached the lower Mississippi with about one hundred men. In the meantime, however, his designs had become known to President Jefferson, who issued a proclamation looking to his capture. Burr was arrested soon after and placed on trial for treason at Richmond. The case was tried by Chief Justice John Marshall of the Supreme Court, and Edmund Randolph and Luther Martin appeared as attorneys for the defense. After an exciting trial, which lasted for more than three months, Burr was declared "not guilty," much to the regret of Jefferson.

Burr was tried for treason in 1807 and was acquitted.

312. The Election of 1808. — Some of Jefferson's friends wished him to be a candidate for a third term, but he would not listen to the idea. He was sixty-five years of age, had been in public life for forty years, and, furthermore, he believed in the democratic theory of short terms of office. James Madison of Virginia then became the leading candidate for the office, although James Monroe of the same state was favored by some. Many Northern Republicans favored Governor Clinton of New York. Madison was the choice of Jefferson, and he was accordingly nominated, while Clinton was nominated for the Vice Presidency. The Federalists chose C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King. The campaign was an interesting one, and Madison and Clinton were elected by overwhelming majorities.

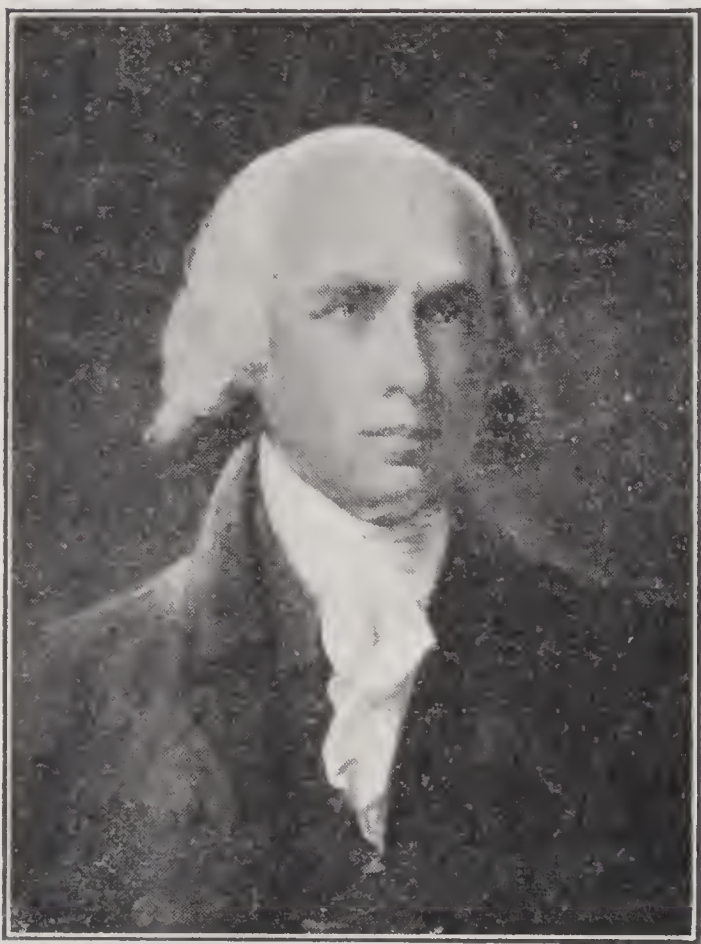
Jefferson declined a third term.

Madison was nominated and elected.

On March 4, 1809, Jefferson gave over the reins of government to his faithful personal and political friend, James Madison, and soon after retired from the public gaze, to spend the remainder of his useful life in the beloved seclusion of his delightful home at Monticello.

JAMES MADISON, 1809-1817

313. James Madison was well known in Public Life. — No introduction to James Madison will be necessary here. He was well and favorably known in the United States long before he became President. He had been prominent in Virginia affairs, he had been one of the most conspicuous figures in the Consti-



JAMES MADISON.

One of the most useful men in American history. Born in Virginia in 1751, he was graduated from Princeton, served in the legislature of his state and in Congress, was Secretary of State, and twice President of the United States. Wrote many able political papers, and kept a record of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention. He died in 1836.

tutional Convention, and had recently served as Secretary of State under Jefferson. Furthermore, he had always agreed with Jefferson upon matters of government, and for this reason his administration may be looked upon as a continuation of that of his predecessor.

314. Madison's Cabinet was not a Strong One. — Madison retained three members of Jefferson's Cabinet. Robert Smith of Maryland, formerly Secretary of the Navy, became Secretary of State; Cæsar A. Rodney of Delaware, formerly Attorney-General, was continued in that office; and Albert Gallatin, the famous financier, remained at the head of the Treasury Department. The remaining positions were filled by comparatively obscure men. The

Cabinet as a whole was not a strong one. Gallatin was the only man in it of first-class ability. The majority of the members did fairly well, but Smith was decidedly weak as Secretary of State. He was succeeded by James Monroe in 1811.

315. Foreign Affairs were in a Sad Condition. — It was unfortunate that Madison made such a weak appointment as

Secretary of State. At the close of Jefferson's administration it was evident to every one that our foreign affairs would be of supreme importance; and it must have been equally evident that Robert Smith was not the man to manage them. Gallatin was the man best fitted for the position, but intrigues and jealousies unfortunately prevented his appointment.

Our foreign affairs were in a deplorable condition at the close of Jefferson's administration. Great Britain and France were making depredations upon American commerce which the United States was powerless to prevent. The Embargo Act had proved a flat failure and had been repealed; the Non-intercourse Act, which was never effective, expired early in 1810; and other retaliatory legislation had proved to be of no avail. Diplomacy, too, had failed, and the country was drifting rapidly toward war.

Madison was a man of peace, but the Republican leaders were bent upon war, and he was not able to hold them in check. Some of the younger men of the party were especially anxious for war. This was true of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and of Henry Clay of Kentucky, who were destined at a future time to play important parts in American politics.

Madison
favored
peace.

As we look back upon the negotiations of these years, after the lapse of a century, it is not clear why the United States chose to declare war against Great Britain rather than France. As far as the depredations upon our commerce were concerned, the two nations were equally blamable. It was clear, however, that it would not be wise to declare war against both. Such a declaration would be ridiculous, if not disastrous. By common consent of a majority of the Republican leaders England was singled out for vengeance. A trace of the old hatred yet remained, and the possible conquest of Canada appealed strongly to many. The tone of the West was particularly warlike, and Madison, man of peace though he was, was no longer able to control his party.

Clay and
Calhoun
were "war
hawks."

There was
as much
reason for
declaring
war against
France as
against
Britain.

316. War was declared against Great Britain on June 18, 1812. — War was declared on June 18, 1812, by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-nine in the House, and by a vote of nineteen to thirteen in the Senate. The greater part of the vote in favor of war came from the South and West. The Federalists and a few Republicans voted against the declaration, and the former issued an address to the people in which they stated the grounds of their opposition. They held that the main object of the war was the conquest of Canada and not the redress of commercial grievances. They also tried to excuse England and to place a large part of the blame upon France. It was unfortunate that the United States was thus obliged to enter upon an important war without the support of all sections of the country.

317. There were Four Important Causes of the War. — The causes of the War of 1812 may be summed up under four heads: (1) The inciting of the Indians by the English to commit outrages upon the Americans; (2) the depredations upon American commerce; (3) the blockade of our ports by British cruisers; and (4) the impressment of American seamen. These grievances were very humiliating, and war would have resulted from them at an earlier date if the United States had not been in its infancy as a nation.

318. Great Britain was apparently Much Stronger than the United States in 1812. — The military strength of the United States at the time was in striking contrast to that of England. The United States had 7,250,000 people, Great Britain had 18,500,000; the regular army of the United States was composed of 6700 men, while the regular army of Great Britain was fighting successfully against the vast armies of Napoleon; the American navy was made up of 12 small boats with 5500 men, while the British had 830 superior vessels with 150,000 seamen. In addition to this, experience and war spirit both seemed to favor the British, and in financial resources England was tenfold stronger. On the other hand, it was plain that the war would be fought along the Canadian border. This fact was favorable to the United States.

THE WAR, 1812

319. Americans won Brilliant Victories on Sea but failed on Land. — The War of 1812, on the American side, is characterized by failures on land and by brilliant victories on sea. The American army was made up, for the most part, of raw recruits, hastily gathered together, without experience or training. Such an army as this could not hope to contend successfully against England's veteran forces. The American navy, on the other hand, was manned by natural seamen, — fishermen from Newfoundland and elsewhere, — who proved to be excellent fighters. The Yankee sailor was alert, bold, and quick to act. He was a natural mechanic, a good gunner, and a superior tactician. But even with all this his "victories were more than unexpected, they were astounding."

320. Canada was invaded, but the Expeditions proved Failures. — The project of invading Canada seemed to be uppermost in the minds of the Americans, and two expeditions were planned against the British possessions. One was to cross the Detroit River at Detroit, and the other the Niagara River at Buffalo. In July of 1812, less than a month after war had been declared, General Hull led the first of these two expeditions into Canada. Almost no preparation had been made for the invasion, and it ended, as might have been expected, in failure. In August General Hull surrendered to the British commander, General Brock, without striking a blow.

The second expedition likewise failed. In October the Americans, under General Van Rensselaer, crossed the Niagara River and were defeated at Queenstown, a short distance below the Falls. The land campaigns of the first year of the war all ended disastrously for the Americans.

321. Naval Battles. — In regard to the naval battles, however, there is a different story to tell. Although England was the "mistress of the seas," she suffered a series of decisive defeats on the ocean at the hands of the Americans. On the 13th of



August Captain Porter, in command of the *Essex*, captured the British sloop *Alert* without the loss of a man.

The fight lasted eight minutes, and when the *Alert* was taken there were seven feet of water in her hold.

The *Essex* captured the British sloop *Alert*.

Six days later a still more brilliant victory was won. The American frigate *Constitution*, under Captain Isaac Hull, captured the British frigate *Guerrière* after a fight of half an hour. "In less than thirty minutes from the time we got alongside the enemy," said Hull, "she was left without a spar standing, and the hull cut to pieces in such a manner as to make it difficult to keep her above water." "This victory," says Henry Adams, the American historian, "raised the United States in one-half hour to the rank of a first-class power." The news of the capture and destruction of the *Guerrière* was received with especial delight in the United States because that boat had been particularly active in the searching of American vessels.

The *Constitution* captured the British sloop *Guerrière*.

1813

322. Commodore Perry won a Brilliant Victory on Lake Erie. —

The year 1813 was one of mingled joys and sorrows. In January a company of Kentucky troops, under General Winchester, attempted to recapture Detroit, but was defeated at Frenchtown on the River Raisin, in Michigan.

General William Henry Harrison, the hero of the battle of Tippecanoe, met with better success. He was anxious to pass from northern Ohio into Canada, by way of Detroit, but was not able to do so while the British controlled Lake Erie. Commodore Perry came to his assistance by winning the brilliant battle of Lake Erie on the 10th of September, 1813. Perry was but twenty-seven years of age at the time, and was fighting against the veteran Captain Barclay, who had seen service under Nelson at Trafalgar. Perry's victory was complete and decisive, and his dispatch to Harrison thrilled the nation: "We have

met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop. Yours with very great respect and esteem, O. H. Perry."

Now that the way was clear Harrison passed Detroit, penetrated Canada, and defeated the British in the battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813.

323. The *Chesapeake* was captured by the British *Shannon*. — On the ocean also defeats were mingled with victories. The most notable contest was that between the American frigate *Chesapeake* and the British *Shannon*. The boats met off Boston early in June, 1813, with Captain Lawrence in command of the American vessel, and Captain Broke in command of the British. In the course of the engagement the gallant Captain Lawrence was mortally wounded, but called out to his men while being carried below: "Don't give up the ship! Keep the guns going! Fight her till she sinks!" The American boat was captured and taken to Halifax, but the dying command of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship!" has become an American battle cry which will never be forgotten.

1814

324. MacDonough defeated the British off Plattsburg. — In the following year the Americans again tried to invade Canada, and again they met with only partial success. In July they won the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane near Niagara, but in the fall the troops were withdrawn, and little was accomplished.

A victory on Lake Champlain revived the drooping spirit of the Americans. The British were planning an invasion of New York, and had placed a fleet on Lake Champlain to coöperate with the land forces. Commodore Thomas MacDonough, of the American fleet, succeeded in defeating the British off Plattsburg in September, after a hard-fought contest.

325. Washington was taken and the Capitol burned. — In the meantime the Atlantic coast was being ravaged by the British.

In August they appeared before Washington, and, after a feeble resistance by General Winder, the city was taken. The President and members of the Cabinet fled, and the Capitol, White House, and other public buildings were destroyed. It should be said, however, that the English people did not approve of this wanton destruction of property. One English paper remarked, "The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the Capitol of America."

326. Andrew Jackson defeated the British at New Orleans after the Treaty of Peace had been made. — The British, later in the year, planned an attack on New Orleans. Here, however, they met a very determined resistance on the part of Andrew Jackson, the hardy Indian fighter. The British made the attack on Jackson on the 8th of January, 1815, and were repulsed with great loss. This victory was won, however, after the treaty of peace had been made.

327. The Hartford Convention. — The sentiment in New England against the war was always strong and was increased by the victories of the British. It was said that the war was not a just one, but was being waged for the conquest of territory. It was certainly injuring the commerce of New England. One result of this opposition to the war was the famous Hartford Convention of 1814. On December 15 of that year delegates from all of the New England states met at Hartford, Connecticut. It was feared that New England might withdraw and that the union might be disrupted, but no such action was taken. The convention adjourned on January 14, 1815, and then published a report of its proceedings. Some amendments to the Constitution were urged, and it was insisted that the states should be allowed to retain the customs duties collected within their borders. It was intimated that the states might secede from the union in case their demands were not complied with. A committee was appointed to lay the remonstrance before Congress, but peace had been made in the meantime and nothing came of the movement.

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from the
union.

328. The War closed with the Peace of Ghent, August 8, 1814. — On August 8, 1814, British and American representatives met at Ghent to discuss terms of peace, and a treaty was signed on December 24 following — two weeks before Andrew Jackson won his memorable victory at New Orleans.¹ The terms of the treaty are not important. Things were left very much as they were before the war. Since peace had been made between France and England there was no longer any cause for attacks upon our commerce, and the impressment of American seamen had also ceased. The grievances had been removed in the natural course of events and were not mentioned in the treaty.

It was agreed that the conquered territory should be mutually restored.

Therefore, at first thought it would seem that nothing whatever was gained by the Americans by the War of 1812. It is true that no territory was gained and that American rights were not clearly defined in the treaty; but the war served to unite the nation and to gain for it the wholesome respect of all Europe. The victories of Hull, Perry, and Jackson will not soon be forgotten.

329. Domestic Affairs. — Although the war was the principal event of interest in the administrations of President Madison, there were a few other matters of importance which should be noted.

It will be recalled that through the efforts of Hamilton, a United States bank was chartered for twenty years in 1791. The bank was a success, and in 1811 an effort was made to renew the charter. The old opposition, however, sprang up in the Republican ranks and the attempt failed. In 1816 Mr. Clay, then Speaker of the House, and other influential leaders took up the matter, and the bank was rechartered for

No im-
portant
changes
were made
by the
war.

The United
States
Bank was
rechartered
in 1816 for
twenty
years.

¹ If the ocean cable and the telegraph had been in existence, the loss of life at New Orleans might have been saved.

another term of twenty years. Its capital stock was to be \$35,000,000, one fifth of which was to be owned by the government.

In 1816 the first protective tariff measure was passed. The bill was intended not only as a source of revenue, but as a protection to American in-

dustries. Henry Clay, "the father of the protective policy," was its chief advocate, but the measure was favored by Calhoun and signed by Madison. Webster opposed it. The duties were not nearly so high as they are now, the highest being about thirty per cent.

The first protective tariff measure was passed in 1816.

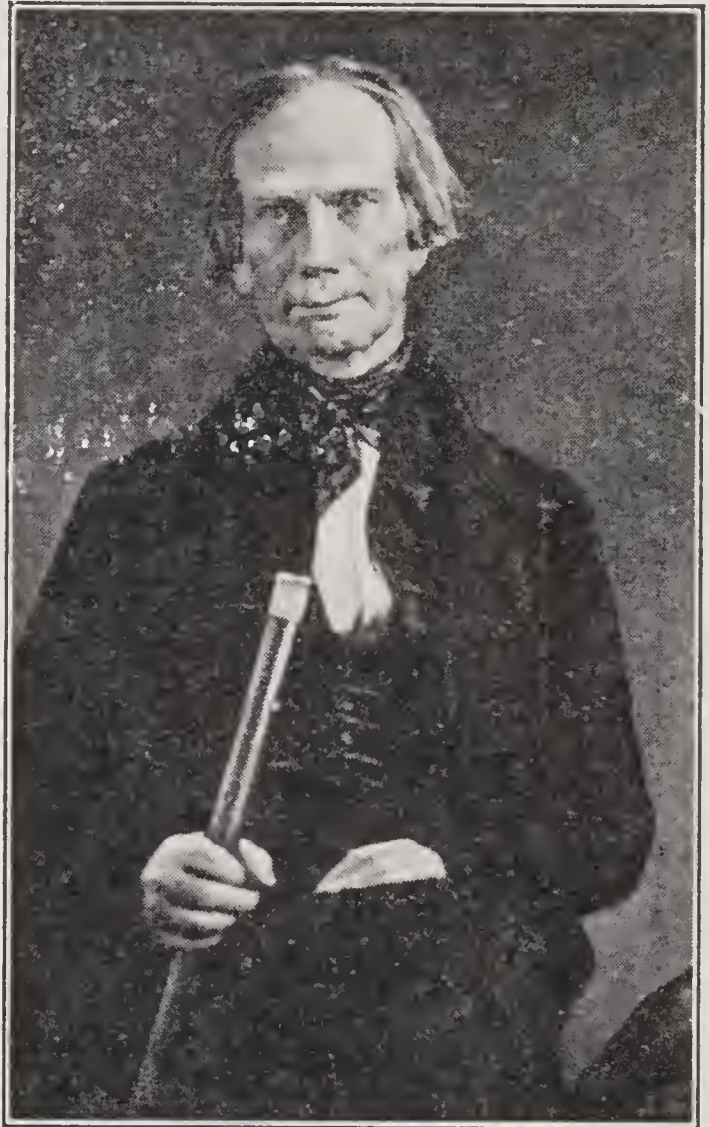
Taken as a whole, the period of Madison's administrations was an era of progress. There had been an increase in national spirit and unity; the population

had increased from 7,239,903 in 1810 to about 8,866,000 in 1817; manufactures

Madison's administrations were a period of progress.

had sprung up; shipping had revived; transportation facilities had been somewhat improved; and a new era was dawning in literature. Washington Irving's "Knickerbocker's History of New York" had appeared in 1809, and Bryant's "Thanatopsis" had been published in an early number of the *North American Review*, which was founded in 1815.

330. Elections of 1812 and 1816.—In the fall of 1812 Madison was reelected President over DeWitt Clinton of New York, by



HENRY CLAY.

"The Great Pacificator" was born in Virginia in 1777, and died in Washington in 1852. He became a lawyer, a member of the Kentucky legislature, United States senator, Speaker of the House, and Secretary of State. He was a candidate for the Presidency several times, but was never elected. He was an advocate of protection and an orator of rare power. A monument has been erected to his memory in the cemetery at Lexington, Kentucky.

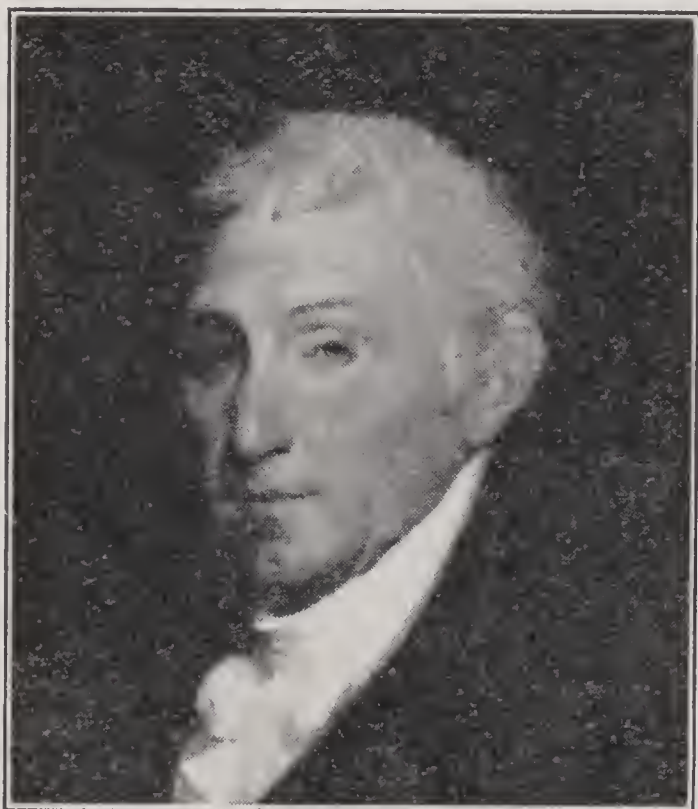
a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight to eighty-nine. By 1816 the Federalist party had almost entirely disappeared.

The Federalist party had practically disappeared by 1816.

In the election of that year it carried only three states, — Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. The Republicans nominated and elected James Monroe of Virginia, who had distinguished himself in the public service as a member of Madison's Cabinet.

JAMES MONROE, 1817-1825

331. Character of the President and of the Period. — James Monroe was well known when he became President in



JAMES MONROE.

Monroe was born in 1758 in Virginia, not far from the birthplace of George Washington. He entered William and Mary College, but soon left to fight the battles of the Revolution. Although he opposed the adoption of the Constitution, he had an illustrious public career. He served two terms as President. He died in New York City on July 4, 1831.

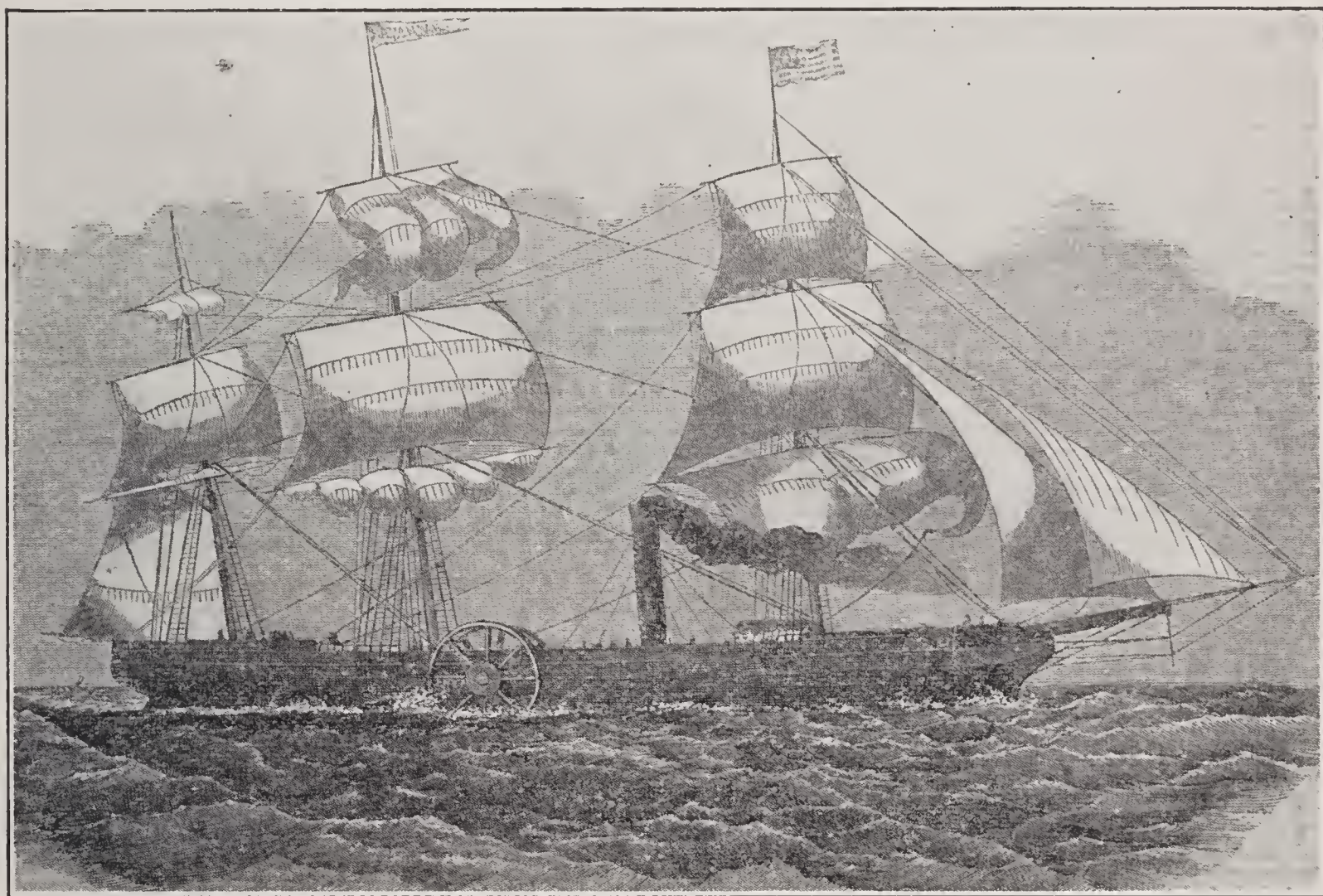
1817. He had been a soldier in the Revolutionary army, a foreign minister, a United States senator, governor of Virginia, and, more recently, Secretary of State and of War. His election was not the occasion of any great national excitement, as it was known that the Republican policy of Jefferson and Madison would be continued. These two illustrious men, although in retirement, were expected to exercise, and actually did exercise, a marked influence upon public affairs. However, the policy of the Republican party had changed materially since the time of Washington. Many of the principles of the Federalist party had been adopted, and the old doctrine of "strict

construction" of the Constitution had been practically abandoned. In fact, Monroe might be looked upon as the representative of the *people* rather than of the Republican party.

Monroe's Presidency is an interesting and important period. It is sometimes called the "era of good feeling," because the hatred caused by party strife had largely vanished.

It is true that there was but one political party, yet there was much ill feeling, due to the fact that this party was divided up into several factions. On the whole, however, good will prevailed. Business and commerce occupied men's minds, and political animosities were crowded

It was
the "era of
good feel-
ing."



THE STEAMSHIP "SAVANNAH."

This was the first steamer to cross the Atlantic Ocean. She sailed from Savannah in June, 1819, and reached Liverpool in eighteen days. She used steam power only for seven days on the trip. When about to enter St. George's Channel, near the coast of Ireland, the smoke from her funnel was spied by the commander of the British fleet, who, thinking the vessel on fire, sent two boats to her rescue. She was met by a large crowd at Liverpool and given an enthusiastic reception.

out. Then, too, the West was being settled very rapidly, and this gave the people something to think of. The steamboat was plying on the inland waters and had already crossed the Atlantic. A constant stream of immigrants was coming from Europe into the West. The admission of new states into the union shows the rapidity with which this development was taking

place. Indiana was admitted in 1816; Mississippi, in 1817; Illinois, in 1818; and Alabama, in 1819.



A TYPE OF MODERN TRANSATLANTIC STEAMSHIP.

This steamship, the *Umbria*, is more than 500 feet long, nearly 50 feet wide, and about 40 feet deep. It forms a striking contrast to the *Savannah*, which is shown on page 281. The *Umbria* was built in 1884, and is itself much smaller than the largest boats of to-day. The *Kaiserin Auguste Victoria*, for instance, built in 1905, is 705 feet long, 77 feet wide, and 54 feet deep.

332. Monroe's Cabinet was a Strong One. — Monroe began his administration well by appointing a strong Cabinet. Several of the members were men of marked ability. John Quincy Adams, son of the second President, was made Secretary of State; William H. Crawford of Georgia, a member of Madison's Cabinet, was made Secretary of the Treasury; and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, destined to be one of the foremost men in American history, was made Secretary of War. The President stood in need of all of the sound advice which his Cabinet could give, since our foreign affairs were still in an unsettled condition, and it was necessary to renew our commercial treaties, which had been broken off by the war.

333. Florida was purchased from Spain in 1819.—The purchase of Florida from Spain by the United States was one of the important events in Monroe's administration. Since the purchase of the Louisiana territory from France in 1803, there had been a disagreement between Spain and the United States in regard to the boundary line between Florida and Louisiana. This was settled for all time by the purchase of Florida. Spain was not able to hold and to defend her American possessions, and accordingly ceded Florida to the United States by a treaty signed February 22, 1819. In this treaty the United States gave up all claim to Texas and agreed to pay five million dollars to American citizens for claims resulting from spoliations committed by Spain. Florida thus became part of the territory of the United States, but was not admitted as a state until 1845.

334. The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed in December, 1823.—The most notable event in Monroe's administration, and one of the most important events in American history, was the publication of the "Monroe Doctrine" in December, 1823. Just at this time the Spanish colonies of South America were rebelling against the mother country and setting themselves up as independent republics. Republican governments had been established in all of the Spanish colonies of South America, and in 1822 their independence was recognized by the United States. Some of the European monarchies, who were naturally opposed to the spread of republican principles, joined in a so-called Holy Alliance and thought of interfering for the purpose of reducing the republics again to the power of Spain. John Quincy Adams, the far-sighted Secretary of State, after conferring with some officers of the British government, came to the conclusion that it would not be wise to allow the nations of Europe to meddle with affairs on the American continents. He accordingly induced President Monroe to make a declaration in his message to Congress of the now famous "Monroe Doctrine." The doctrine consisted of two parts. In the first place the President declared that the

The Holy Alliance was about to restore the power of Spain over her colonies in South America.

“American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power.” He also declared in substance that the United States would not allow any European nation to interfere with the government of any republic established on American soil. The protest had the desired effect, and the plans of the European monarchies were never carried out. The “Monroe Doctrine” has been enforced in several instances and continues to be an important part of American policy.

335. Clay favored a Protective Tariff; Webster opposed it. The Tariff of 1824. — The tariff law of 1816 had not produced satisfactory results, and on May 22, 1824, another act was passed. Clay was again the most outspoken champion of a protective tariff, while Webster was opposed to that policy. He declared “freedom of trade to be the general principle, and restriction the exception.” The South now opposed the tariff, while the Central and Western states and a part of New England favored it. The new measure increased the duties on iron, wool, hemp, and, to some extent, on woolen and cotton goods. The general average of the duties was thirty-seven per cent in 1824 as against twenty-five per cent in 1816.

336. Lafayette visited the United States in 1824 and was received with Great Honor. — In May, 1824, Congress sent an invitation to the Marquis de Lafayette to visit the United States as “the nation’s guest.” The invitation was gratefully accepted, and Lafayette remarked that he would visit America, “the beloved land,” as an “adopted son,” which he did in the fall of 1824. He had been a personal friend of President Monroe when the two men were serving in the Revolutionary army, hence his reception by the head of the American Republic was a most cordial one. He was received by the people everywhere with respect and enthusiasm.

337. Adams, Crawford, Jackson, and Clay are Candidates for the Presidency. Adams is elected by the House of Representatives, 1824. — In the fall of 1820 Monroe was reelected by an almost unanimous vote. He received two hundred and thirty-

one votes and John Quincy Adams received one. An elector from New Hampshire, desiring that Washington should be the only President to have the honor of a unanimous election, voted for Adams.

Four years later, however, there was no such unanimity. In 1824 there were four important candidates for the Presidency. These were John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, Henry Clay, and Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans. John C. Calhoun was a candidate at one time, but contented himself with an election to the Vice Presidency. There were no great political issues at stake and each candidate had his personal and local following. Jackson received ninety-nine votes; Adams, eighty-four; Crawford, forty-one; and Clay, thirty-seven. As no candidate had received a majority of the votes in the electoral college, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to choose a President from the three highest on the list. Clay was thus left out, and the House proceeded to ballot on the other three names. Adams was elected by the influence of Clay, much to the chagrin of Jackson and his friends. A short time after, he appointed Clay Secretary of State, and it was promptly charged that Clay had sold his influence to Adams for a position in the Cabinet. There was a great deal of talk of a "corrupt bargain" between the two men, but it is fair to say that both Adams and Clay denied the charge, and that no evidence has ever been produced to sustain it.

338. Death of Monroe, 1831. — Monroe was sixty-seven years of age when he laid down the cares of his office. He lived for six years after his retirement, and died on the 4th of July, 1831, in New York. He was buried there with honors befitting an ex-President of the United States. In 1858, the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, his ashes were removed to Richmond with military honors, and there buried in the soil of his native state.

FACTS AND DATES

1801-1809. Jefferson's Administrations.

1803. Louisiana Purchase.

FACTS AND DATES (Continued)

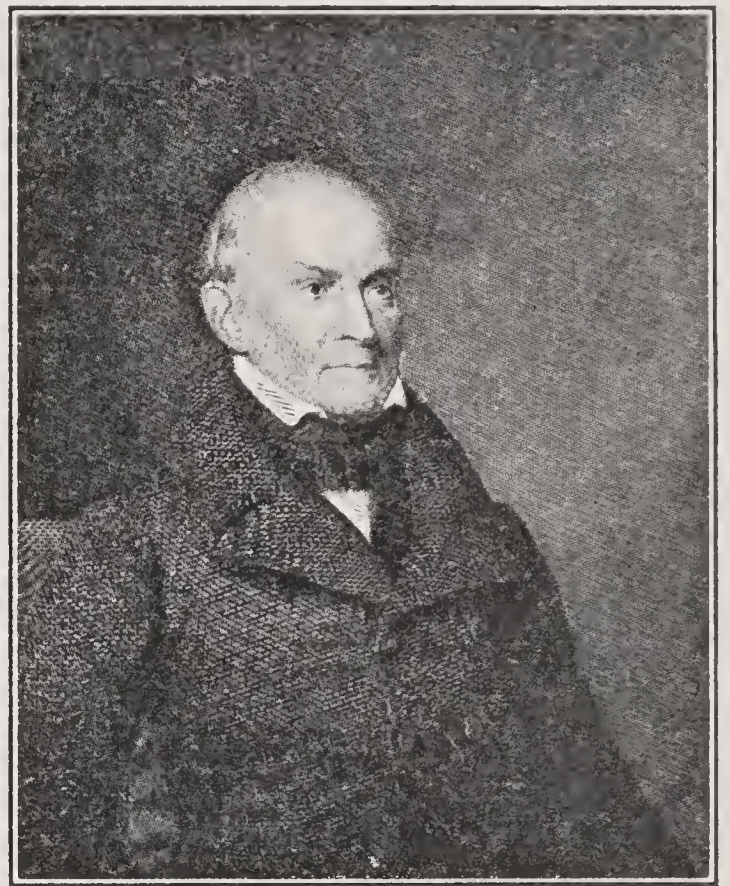
- 1769. Steam Engine Invented.
- 1807. First Successful Steamboat (Fulton's).
- 1807. Embargo Act.
- 1806-1807. Burr Conspiracy.
- 1808. Slave Trade Abolished.
- 1809-1817. Madison's Administrations.
- 1812-1814. Second War with Great Britain.
- 1814. Hartford Convention.
- 1816. First Protective Tariff Act.
- 1817-1825. Monroe's Administrations.
- 1819. Purchase of Florida.
- 1823. Monroe Doctrine.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SECOND ADAMS

1825-1829

339. John Quincy Adams seemed an Ideal President in 1825. — When John Quincy Adams became President of the United States in 1825, he seemed the ideal man for the place. He was well-educated, honest, and fearless; he had had a large and successful experience in public affairs as foreign minister, United States senator, and Cabinet member; and had shown himself to be a broad-minded man of untiring industry. He was “a knight without fear and without reproach,” and it is safe to say that no other man in America in 1825 possessed, in an equal degree, the characteristics of an ideal President. Yet his administration was, in some respects, a disappointment. He was bitterly opposed by personal and political enemies, and was defeated for reëlection in 1828.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The “Old Man Eloquent” was born in Massachusetts in 1767, and died in Washington, D.C., in 1848. He studied at the University of Leyden, and was graduated from Harvard. He soon became a distinguished lawyer and statesman. For three years he was a professor in Harvard, and at one time or another he held almost all of the great offices in the United States. He was an excellent writer in both prose and verse.

340. Internal Improvements were much Discussed. — There had been a growing demand for some time for the construction of roads and the improvement of waterways, but some doubted

the power of Congress, under the Constitution, to appropriate money for these purposes. Every one was in favor of better transportation facilities, but many believed that the improvements should be made by the states or by private enterprise. The recent westward expansion had strengthened this demand for roads and canals. Sums of money had been appropriated by Congress for the purpose from time to time, but Madison and Monroe had used the veto power to keep such appropriations within bounds.

Adams, however, was more friendly to such expenditures, and in his inaugural address he advocated the building of roads and

Adams
and Clay
advocated
internal
improve-
ments at
national
expense.

canals by the general government. Clay was of the same mind, but Calhoun, who favored the idea in 1816, had come to the conclusion in 1822 that Congress did not have the power to use the public money in this way. During the administration of Adams

\$2,310,000 were appropriated by Congress for internal improvements. There was much opposition, however, and the policy did not grow in favor.

341. The Erie Canal, 1825, helped to open up the West. — In the meantime the various states were making improvements on their own account. The most notable of these was the construction of the Erie Canal by the state of New York. This important waterway extended from Buffalo to Albany, and “reduced transportation charges to a little over one tenth their former figures.” It was finished in 1825 and aided wonderfully in the development of the West. It is still an important highway of commerce.

342. The Removal of the Creeks and Cherokees. — In 1827 and 1828 the enemies of Adams in Congress took occasion to

Congress
did not
support
the Presi-
dent in
his con-
test with
Georgia.

humiliate him before the people. The people of Georgia were trying to remove the Creek and Cherokee Indians from their state in order to secure the land in the Indian reservations. President Adams objected and attempted to protect the Indians in their rights. The result was an open conflict between the

governor of Georgia and the President of the United States. Although the position which Adams had taken was the correct one, Congress refused to support him, and Governor Troup of Georgia successfully defied the authority of the national government.



THE ERIE CANAL, 1825.

The most important waterway of its kind in the United States. It was commenced in 1817 and finished eight years later. It was due to the energy of Governor De Witt Clinton of New York that the canal was pushed across the state from Albany and Troy to Buffalo, a distance of three hundred and sixty-three miles, a large part of it through a dense wilderness. The value of property along the line of the canal has greatly increased, and the state has received a large revenue from tolls.

343. The Tariff Act of 1828. — The Tariff Act of 1828 also tended to make President Adams unpopular in some quarters. There was a demand on the part of the manufacturers for still greater protection, and a new tariff bill was framed. The lines were now quite clearly drawn in regard to the protective policy. Manufacturing had come to be the most important industry in New England, hence that section was in favor of the protective

The North favored the protective tariff, while the South opposed it.

tariff. In the South, on the other hand, there were very few factories, and the people opposed the tariff because it made them pay more for the manufactured goods which they bought.

The tariff bill of 1828, however, was not discussed and passed on its merits. It has been well called "the tariff of abominations." The bill was not carefully drawn, and it raised the

The tariff of 1828 levied very high duties. duties on some articles to a ridiculously high figure. The duty on wool, for example, was raised from thirty per cent to about seventy per cent. The bill passed both houses of Congress and was signed by President

Adams on May 24, 1828. The measure did not represent the sober judgment of the people of the United States. It was intended to embarrass the President, and to help to defeat him for reelection. John Randolph was not far wrong when he said, "The bill referred to manufactures of no sort or kind except the manufacture of a President of the United States." In the light of these facts it is not easy to

Adams made a mistake in signing the "tariff of abominations." see why President Adams signed the bill at all. A partial explanation may be found in the fact that he was in favor of the American or protective system, and believed that the measure of 1828 was better than nothing. It was also hoped that the act would be so amended as to remove some of the "abominations." This was afterward done.

Five Southern states at once protested against the act, and John C. Calhoun became the spokesman of the opposition. He was very decided in his views. He even went so far as to advise South Carolina to declare the act "null and void within the limits of the state." He would thus defy the authority of the federal government.

Calhoun protested against this tariff. The ghost of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions seemed to be reappearing, and Webster expressed the opinion that a new confederacy would be formed in the South.

344. The Election of 1828. — Adams was not seated in the Presidential chair before preparations were being made for the election of 1828. His administration was simply "a long-

drawn Presidential campaign." Jackson and his friends held that he was the choice of the people for the Presidency in 1824, but that he was beaten out of the office by underhanded work. They therefore planned revenge. There were no great political principles at stake, but "Adams men" were pitted against "Jackson men." Adams was an honest, able, and high-minded man, but his opponents availed themselves of every opportunity to bring him into disfavor. The issue was largely a personal one between the two men. There was much talk of the tariff and internal improvements as campaign issues, but no one really knew what Jackson thought in regard to either, and no one seemed to care. "Hurrah for Jackson" and "Turn the rascals out" were the effective war cries in 1828.

The contest between Adams and Jackson was a personal one.

The Adams administration, however, was not free from fault. The President had signed the worst tariff measure ever framed in the United States, and he had not managed our foreign affairs with success. Then, too, his Cabinet appointments were not strong. Clay, as Secretary of State, was an able man. He was a genuine American and a captivating orator. This "lion-hearted knight" of American statesmen swayed his audiences with a "voice as winning as the sirens' song." Yet the appointment of Clay gave rise, as we have seen, to much adverse criticism. Aside from Clay, William Wirt was the only man in the Cabinet of first-rate ability.

Adams made some mistakes.

Then again the personality of Jackson must be taken into account. "Old Hickory," as he was affectionately called, was absolutely honest and upright in all his dealings. He may have lacked refinement, but no one ever questioned his integrity. He represented also a new force in American politics. Up to this time the Presidents had been chosen from the old aristocratic states, — from Virginia and Massachusetts. They represented the culture and refinement of the seaboard. Jackson, the rough-and-ready son of the West, represented a new element. He was the exponent of that Western democracy which was destined to over-

Jackson was crude but honest.

whelm the aristocracy of the East. It was upon this rising tide that Andrew Jackson rode into office in 1828.

We noted the disappearance of political parties during Monroe's Presidency. In the time of Adams party lines were drawn anew. The followers of Clay and Adams called themselves "National Republicans," while the Jackson men were known as the "Democratic Republicans" and later as the "Democrats." The National Republicans may be looked upon, in a general way, as the descendants of the Federalist party, while the Democratic Republicans represent the party of Jefferson.

Jackson carried the West and South, and was elected over Adams by a vote of one hundred and seventy-eight to eighty-three. The popular vote showed a closer contest. Jackson had six hundred and fifty thousand votes against five hundred thousand for Adams.

345. Adams ends his Days in the House of Representatives. — Soon after retiring from the Presidency, Adams was elected a member of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts (§ 392). He held this position until the time of his death, and became known as "the old man eloquent" and as a fearless champion of antislavery petitions. He was stricken with his last illness while attending a session of the House, on February 21, 1848. "The stern old fighter lay dying almost on the very field of so many battles and in the very tracks in which he had so often stood erect and unconquerable, taking and dealing so many mighty blows." He passed away two days later, and lies buried "under the portal of the church at Quincy."

FACTS AND DATES

1825-1829. John Quincy Adams's Administration.

1825. Completion of Erie Canal.

1828. Tariff of Abominations.

CHAPTER XXV

THE JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

1829-1841

346. A New National Era begins with Jackson's Administration. — In taking up our study of the administration of Andrew Jackson, we are brought face to face with a new era in American history. The colonial days had passed, and the national period was in reality just beginning. This was true, as we shall soon see, not only in politics and government, but in commerce and industry as well.

We noted in the last chapter that a new force had appeared in American politics. In the election of 1828 the democratic spirit of the West and South had triumphed over the aristocracy of the East. It was felt that the "plain people" had at last come into possession of the government. This rise of the common people made many changes — some good and some bad — in the government of the United States.

The West
had tri-
umphed
over the
East.

The older statesmen who had been associated with the formation of the Constitution and the beginning of the government had now, for the most part, passed away. Washington, Hamilton, John Adams, and Jefferson were dead. Madison, Monroe, and Gallatin were still living, but no longer took an active part in politics. Chief Justice John Marshall was the only statesman of the old school who remained in office, and he, too, was destined soon to pass off the scene. The leading men of the new era were Andrew Jackson, the frontier statesman; Martin Van Buren, the polished

The states-
men of the
Constitu-
tion had
passed
away, and
Jackson,
Clay, Cal-
houn, Van
Buren,
and Web-
ster were
the men
of the hour.

gentleman and shrewd politician ; Henry Clay, the father of the American protective system ; and John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster, the great expounders of the Constitution.

In this new era national questions took the place of colonial ones. The tariff, the United States Bank, the Indians, internal improvements, and, above all, the slavery question were soon to absorb the attention of the nation.

347. The "Spoils System" originated in Jackson's Time. —



ANDREW JACKSON.

"The Hero of New Orleans" was born in North Carolina in 1767. He fought in the Revolution when he was fourteen years of age. Later he became a lawyer. He served in the House and Senate, and became famous as a frontier soldier. He was President for two terms. He died in 1845.

The new era also brought new political methods. The so-called "Spoils System" originated at this time. Before Jackson's administration, faithful and capable men were kept in office, for the most part, without regard to the political party to which they belonged. Jackson and his friends, however, introduced a new order of things. They looked upon the officeholders of 1828 as dishonest men, and proceeded to "turn the rascals out." Jackson also wished to give the offices to his political and personal friends in return for their services. He therefore proceeded to "reward his friends and punish his enemies" with a vengeance. He believed in the doc-

trine that "to the victors belong the spoils," and thought, no doubt, that he was improving the public service by making a "clean sweep." During the first year of his Presidency he removed over two thousand men from office and replaced them with his political friends. All of his predecessors in the Presidential office had removed only about one hundred and fifty men, and his immediate predecessor, John Quincy Adams, had removed only five, and even these were not removed for politi-

cal reasons. "We give no reason for our removals," said Martin Van Buren, the new Secretary of State. Yet the reasons were evident. Said John Quincy Adams in his diary, "The appointments are exclusively of violent partisans, and every editor of a scurrilous and slanderous newspaper is provided for." It is only fair to say, however, that in making these wholesale removals Jackson was following a practice already begun in some of the states.

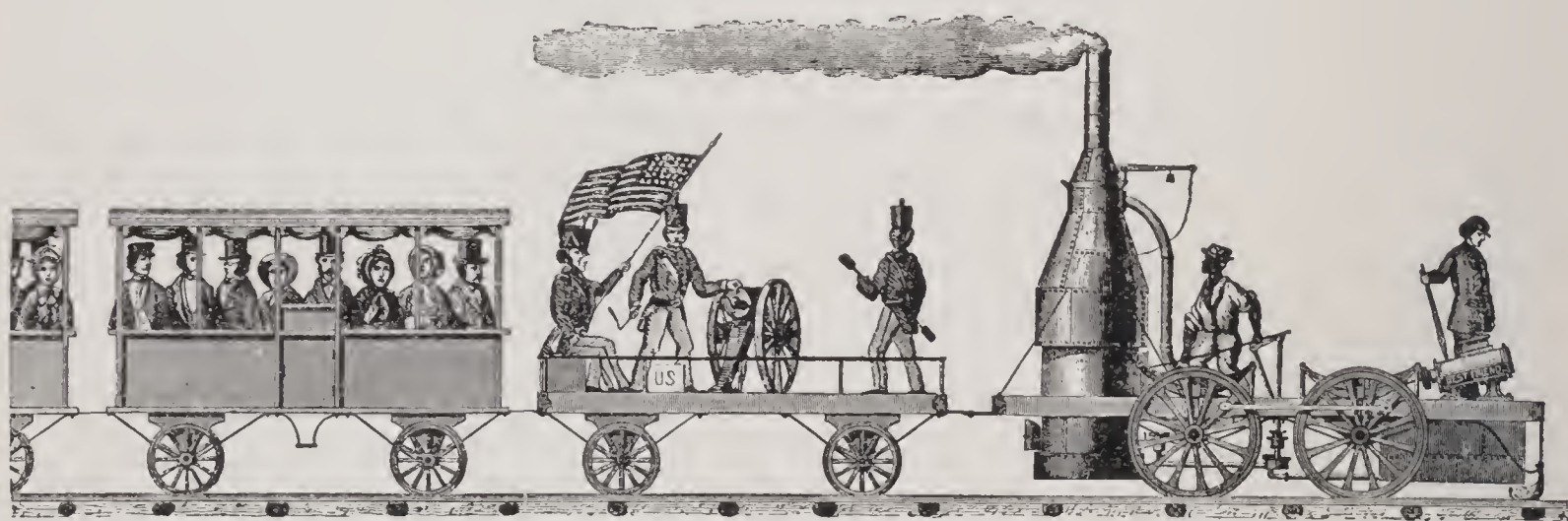
In making these appointments Jackson made many serious mistakes. In the first place, it is wrong in principle to remove capable men and experienced officers and to put inexperienced men in their places. It is not good business common sense. In the second place, in making the appointments, Jackson was compelled to rely largely upon the advice of his friends. He was deceived in too many instances and made some very bad appointments. The result was that a large number of frauds and scandals are connected with his administration, although he was himself absolutely honest. The scandals of Jackson's administration, however, are not the worst result of the Spoils System. The evil effects did not end with Jackson. They have continued, and exist to some extent at the present time. By introducing the Spoils System, Jackson and his friends injected a new element into American politics. Succeeding Presidents unfortunately followed Jackson's example, but in recent years our civil service laws have given some protection to the capable and honest officeholder. It no longer seems to us to be good policy to have a new set of officers every four years.

Jackson was not entirely to blame for the Spoils System.

348. Restrictions on Voting were removed. — Under the new democracy there was also a movement to increase the number of voters. In colonial times the right to vote was restricted for the most part to landholders and taxpayers. The tendency now was toward manhood suffrage. In 1837 New Jersey and Connecticut were the only Northern states which retained a property qualification for voting, and Ohio was the only Western

state to do so. In the South the restrictions had not been removed.

349. American Industries were revolutionized. — The changes in our political life were far-reaching, but the industrial changes of the new era were no less important. The decade extending from 1830 to 1840 has been called the period of the "American Industrial Revolution." The chief cause of this industrial revolution was the application of steam power to manufacturing and transportation. Steam power was now taking the place of hand power and horse power on the highway as well as in the



"THE BEST FRIEND," THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE BUILT IN THE UNITED STATES FOR ACTUAL SERVICE ON A RAILROAD.

This locomotive was doing actual service on the South Carolina Railroad, chiefly in constructing the road, in the latter part of 1830. The picture represents a trip which was made on the first anniversary of the commencement of the road. It was a gala day. According to the *Charleston Courier* of January 17, 1831, "A band of music enlivened the scene, and great hilarity and good-humor prevailed throughout the day."

factory. A wonderful series of inventions were also being made at this time. Fulton had applied steam power to navigation as early as 1807, and the steamboat was being successfully used on the lakes and rivers. In 1814 George Stephenson, an Englishman, had invented the locomotive, but it did not come into use in the United States until 1829.

350. The Railroad appeared in 1829. — The railroad proved a mighty force in the development of the United States. It consolidated the country, thus making it easier to govern; it made it possible to transport agricultural and manufactured products from place to place; and it broadened men's minds and views

by bringing them into contact with the men and views of other localities. Travel always has an important educational effect.

On July 4, 1828, Charles Carroll of Maryland, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, drove the first spike of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and said that he considered it one of the most important events of his life. This was the first railroad in the United States built for freight and passengers. At first, horse

The Baltimore and Ohio road was the first in the United States.



FAST EXPRESS TRAIN OF TO-DAY.

What a difference between this train, which runs about fifty miles an hour, and the train hauled by "The Best Friend" at the rate of about four miles an hour!

power was used, but in 1829 a Stephenson locomotive was imported from England. In 1832 seventy-three miles of the road were completed, and the iron horse was making fifteen miles per hour. In 1830 we had in the United States only twenty-three miles of railroad, but in 1840 there were almost three thousand miles. At the present time there are more than two hundred thousand miles of railway in the United States—more than in any other country.

351. Important Inventions were made. — While the railroad was probably the most important, it was not the only great invention of this era. In 1838 ocean-going steamboats were successfully used, and the screw propeller was invented to take the place of the paddle wheel at about the same time. Anthracite coal was successfully used in the manufacture of iron and the production of steam, and powerful labor-saving machines, such as the steam hammer and the reaper, were invented. The friction match also, a humble but important invention, dates from this period. In fact, the inventions of this era were so numerous and so important that the patent office at Washington was made a separate bureau in 1836. Corporations, monopolies, and labor organizations sprang up as a result of this industrial activity.

352. The South did not prosper as the North and West did. — It should be noted here that the South did not share to any great extent in this industrial prosperity. The application of steam power did not revolutionize matters in that locality. The South was an agricultural section. It could never make much progress in manufacturing while it depended upon slave labor. The railroad, it is true, aided in the advancement of the South, but not to the extent that it did of the North and West.

353. Population. — The population of the country increased from thirteen millions in 1830 to seventeen millions in 1840, but

the older states of the South had increased but little, if at all, in that time. The new Southern states had increased in population, and so had the states of the North, and the increase in the West was enormous.

Ohio had increased more than sixty per cent; Indiana had doubled her population; while that of Michigan had increased five hundred and seventy per cent. There was a vast emigration at this time from North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia to the new states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. These people, for the most part, were opposed to slavery, and were seeking homes in the free states.

354. A Remarkable Group of Writers appeared. — The new era was also accompanied by a new literature. The most tal-



CINCINNATI, ABOUT 1830.

Cincinnati was one of the most important commercial centers in the West, and the steamboat was becoming an important factor in the commerce of the great rivers.

ented group of writers which the United States has ever produced appeared at this time. The writings of Hawthorne began to appear in 1828, those of Poe in 1829, and of Whittier in 1831. Longfellow began to publish in 1833, and Emerson and Holmes in 1836. The historical work of Bancroft began to appear in 1834 and Lowell's early poems in 1841. Prescott, the author of the delightful volumes on the conquests of Mexico and Peru, began at this time to write essays for the *North American Review*. The legal works of Kent and Story were appearing, Wheaton was writing on international law, Francis Lieber on politics, Henry C. Carey on political economy, and Asa Gray on botany. It was in 1838 also that James Smithson founded the now famous Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

Carlyle was right when he wrote to Emerson, "You are a new era, my man, in your huge country." There was a new era in the United States in government, industry, literature, and national spirit. In education, also, there was an awakening. Colleges were improved; high schools, academies, and grammar schools were increased in number and improved in quality of work done.

355. Jackson's Cabinet was not a Strong One.—Jackson began his administration in his usual independent manner. He dominated the entire government. It was easy for him to do this, as his Cabinet was, with two exceptions, made up of very ordinary men. The ablest and the most influential man in the Cabinet was Martin Van Buren, the Secretary of State. Van Buren had just been elected governor of New York, and was a power in the politics of that important state. He was a man of refinement, a skilled politician, and a good manager of men, but hardly a great statesman. Aside from William Wirt of Virginia, Van Buren was the only man of ability and reputation in the Cabinet. This, however, was a matter of little importance to Jackson, as he rarely called a Cabinet meeting, but was accustomed to rely instead upon the advice of a few intimate friends, whom the newspapers of the time called his "Kitchen Cabinet." These men were shrewd political managers, but were politicians rather than statesmen.

356. Jackson's Programme. — Although the Democratic party had come into power without a definite platform, Jackson was not the kind of man whose views on public questions could long remain unknown. It soon became evident that the new President was in favor of a strict construction of the Constitution, and as a result of this view was opposed in general to internal improvements, the protective tariff, and the United States Bank. These three important matters absorbed a large part of his attention during his eight years of office.

357. The Tariff. — The recent industrial development of the country had made the tariff more important than ever before. Statesmen were now beginning to comprehend its far-reaching effects, and the different sections of the country were taking definite stands in regard to it. The tariff measure of 1816 was the first *protective* act in our history. All previous measures had been enacted for revenue primarily, and only incidentally for the protection of home industries. It was soon evident to the South that she was reaping no benefit from the Act of 1816. She had no manufactures to be protected, but was compelled by the tariff to pay a high price for the manufactured goods which she bought. From her point of view the Tariff Act of 1828 was still worse than that of 1816. Some of the rates in this case were ridiculously high, and the South protested. The total exports of the United States in 1829 amounted to fifty-five million dollars, and of this sum the South exported thirty-four million dollars in cotton, rice, and tobacco. Her interests, then, were almost exclusively agricultural, and she was not interested in protecting the factories of New England and the North. South Carolina was one of the most important agricultural states of the South, and became the leader in the opposition to the tariff. She was soon to take active steps in an attempt to prevent the tariff measure from going into effect.

358. The Great Debate of 1830. — In January of 1830, while the tariff and nullification were being discussed, there took place the greatest debate in our annals. Senator Foot of Connecticut

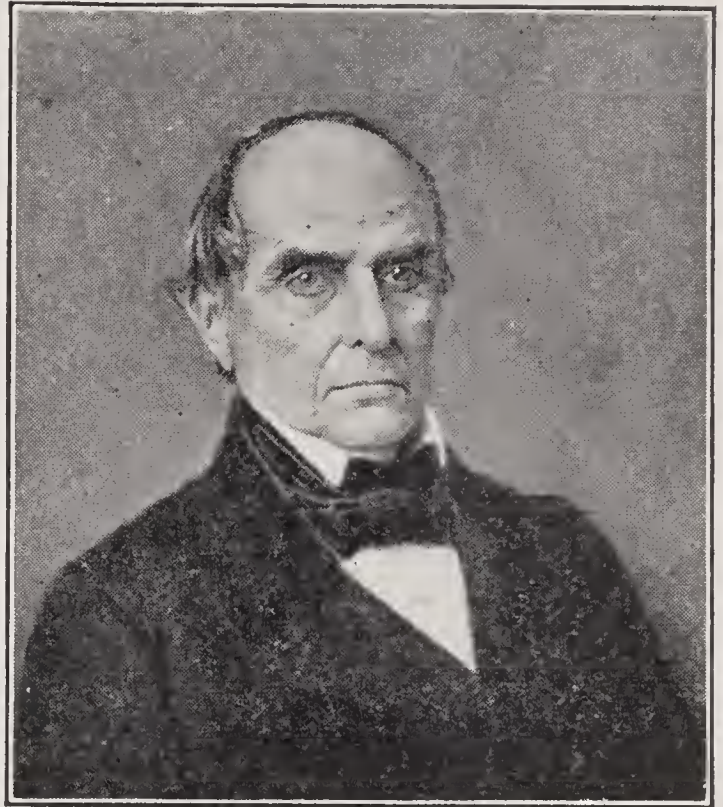
The
South op-
posed the
tariff.

had introduced a resolution in regard to the sale of public land and the debaters had wandered off into a discussion of the nature of the Constitution. Senator Hayne of South Carolina, in a brilliant speech, set forth the so-called "compact theory." He insisted that the Constitution was a mere compact formed by sovereign states, and intimated that the states might withdraw from the compact whenever they saw fit to do so. He

also held that a state could declare an act of Congress null and void in case such act seemed to be unconstitutional. This was the doctrine of nullification.

Hayne maintained the "compact theory" of the Constitution, Webster, the "national theory."

To these views Webster made reply in one of the greatest speeches ever delivered in the English language. He denied that the Constitution was a compact and insisted that the Union could not be dissolved. He denied the right of a state to secede from the Union or to nullify a law of Congress. He insisted that the government was a national one, and that the Supreme Court, and not the several states, was the final judge of the constitutionality of a law of Congress. This was the first clear and definite statement of the two opposing theories of the Constitution, — the "compact" and the "national," — but the matter was not finally settled until decided by the Civil War. By that contest the nation adopted the view of Webster.

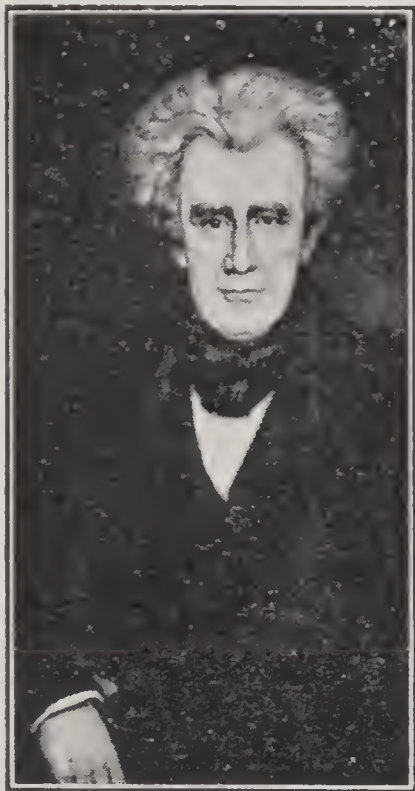


DANIEL WEBSTER.

Probably the greatest orator America has ever produced. Born in New Hampshire, 1782, he was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1801. He studied law and became the leader of the Massachusetts bar. He was a member of the House of Representatives, a senator, and Secretary of State, and was known as the "Great Expounder of the Constitution." He delivered many notable orations on patriotic occasions. The one delivered on the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument is one of his best. He died in Massachusetts, in 1852.

359. John C. Calhoun and South Carolina sought to nullify a law

of Congress, 1830.— A sentiment in favor of nullification was stirred up in the South under the leadership of South Carolina and John C. Calhoun. It was held that any law passed by Congress might be declared null and void by any state, in case the state considered the law unconstitutional. This doctrine



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

The great expounder of the Constitution from the standpoint of the South was born in South Carolina in 1782, and died in Washington, D.C., in 1850. He was graduated from Yale College and soon became an eminent lawyer. He was a member of the House, the Senate, the Cabinet, and Vice President of the United States. He was a forceful writer and a good speaker.

was making some headway, and its adherents hoped to enlist the support of the President. In this they were doomed to disappointment. On April 13, 1830, they received a serious set-back. On that date a number of Democratic leaders had met at a banquet to celebrate the birthday of Jefferson, the founder of the party. Several of the speakers declared themselves in favor of state sovereignty and approved the doctrine of nullification. President Jackson was not slow to grasp the trend of events, and when it came his turn to speak he boldly announced as his toast: "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved."

Jackson declared against nullification.

This staggered the nullifiers. It was plain to all that the President would not allow any state to resist the laws of the United States. It was plain, too, that Jackson was not a man to be trifled with. To a member of Congress from South Carolina who asked him if he had any commands for his friends in that state, he replied: "Yes, I have; please give my compliments to my friends in your state, and say to them that if a single drop of blood shall be shed there

in opposition to the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man I can lay my hand on engaged in such treasonable conduct, upon the first tree I can reach." There was no doubt as to where the President stood, and in his bold and patriotic stand he did a magnificent service for the Union.

South Carolina and the other Southern states, however,

should not be blamed too much because of their nullification sentiments. The fact is that New England was as blameworthy and unpatriotic in the Hartford Convention matter in 1814 as South Carolina was in regard to nullification in 1832. Nullification had been advocated in many states, North as well as South, before 1832. It must be remembered also that the doctrine was not so odious in 1832 as it has since become. The times have changed. There was not so much national spirit and sentiment in Jackson's time as there was in Lincoln's. The national spirit and love for the national government were matters of slow growth. The preservation of the Union would have been vastly more difficult in the time of Jackson than it was thirty years later. Webster's splendid speech and Jackson's patriotic utterance in regard to nullification did much toward developing this national spirit.

The "nullifiers" were not all in the South.

360. Tariff of 1832.—The trouble, however, was not over. The people were not satisfied with the "tariff of abominations" and insisted upon a change. It came in 1832. The new measure abolished the "abominations," for the most part, and was practically a return to the law of 1824. It was to go into effect on March 3, 1833.

361. South Carolina passed the Ordinance of Nullification, November 24, 1832.—The passage of this tariff act intensified the opposition of the South. It was now evident that the protective policy would not be abandoned. It was plain also that the South, and South Carolina in particular, would make an attempt to keep the law from going into effect. Calhoun took the matter up and made a forceful argument for nullification. The state acted upon his advice, and on November 24 a convention assembled at Columbia passed the now famous Ordinance of Nullification, which declared that the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 were null and void within the limits of the state. The ordinance also prohibited citizens from paying duties under the laws after February 1. It also declared that in case the federal government should attempt to enforce the tariff laws in South Carolina, the state would withdraw from the Union.

362. Election of 1832. — Jackson in the meantime was not idle. Before South Carolina had passed her Nullification Ordinance the election of 1832 had been held. The United States Bank was the main political issue, the tariff was discussed to some extent, but the doctrine of nullification had not been fully developed. The personality of Jackson was, of course, the most important issue. He was the candidate of the Democrats, while the National Republicans nominated Henry Clay and the Anti-Masonic party, William Wirt of Virginia. Jackson was elected by an overwhelming majority. He received two hundred and nineteen votes to forty-nine for Clay.

363. Jackson secures the Passage of the "Force Bill," March 1, 1833. — The President looked upon his reelection as an approval of his policy by the people. He therefore continued his fight against nullification. When he saw that South Carolina would resist the laws of the United States, he sent instructions (November 6) to the collector of customs at the port of Charleston to collect all duties, and to use force in doing so, if necessary. After the ordinance of November 24 was published, he issued a proclamation in which he denounced nullification as contrary to the Constitution, and, he added significantly, "The laws of the United States must be executed."

In January, 1833, he asked Congress to pass a law enabling him to use the army and navy of the United States to protect the collectors of revenue. Congress did this, and the so-called "Force Bill" became a law on March 1, 1833.

South Carolina also made ready for the conflict. Hayne was elected governor of the state, and Calhoun was sent to the Senate in his place. Preparations were also made to put the state on a war footing. In the meantime, February 1, 1833, was awaited with much anxiety.

364. The Tariff was revised and Danger averted. — Just at the time when civil war seemed probable a very fortunate compromise was made which prevented trouble for the time. Henry Clay is known in American history as the "Great Compromiser,"

South
Carolina
prepared
for war.

and at this critical time he did a very useful piece of work. At his suggestion Congress passed a law reducing the tariffs; which law was to go into effect on March 2, 1833, — one day before the tariff law of 1832 was to become effective. This appeased South Carolina, and on March 11 the Ordinance of Nullification was repealed. South Carolina had succeeded in getting the tariffs reduced, but she had not succeeded in getting the principle of nullification recognized.

365. Jackson killed the United States Bank. — The United States Bank played an important part in Jackson's administration. The reader is already familiar with its establishment in 1791. It was chartered at that time for a period of twenty years. When the charter expired in 1811, it was not renewed and the bank was allowed to go out of existence for five years. In 1816 it was chartered for twenty years more. The bank was expected to furnish a sound and a uniform currency and to assist the government in the management of its finances.

There was from the beginning a wide difference of opinion in regard to the constitutionality of the bank. In 1819, however, the United States Supreme Court passed upon the question and declared the bank to be constitutional. President Jackson was not inclined to accept this decision, and looked upon the bank as the representative of the money power. Although its charter did not expire until 1836, Jackson began his attacks upon it in 1829, and followed them up persistently. Clay was friendly to the bank, and advised its managers to apply for a renewal of the charter in 1832. This they did, and the bill was passed in June of that year, but was promptly vetoed by Jackson, on the ground that the bank was "an unnecessary, useless, expensive, un-American monopoly."

Then came the campaign of 1832, in the course of which the bank threw its influence against Jackson. It also used money, but not in a corrupt way, to defeat the President. This Jackson could not tolerate, so he dealt the bank another serious blow. He ordered that no further deposits of United States funds should be made in the bank. Certain state banks, later known

as "pet banks," were selected as the depositories of the money of the United States. For this action President Jackson was criticised very severely. The Senate, under the leadership of Clay and Webster, passed a resolution of censure, which Thomas H. Benton, after a long and persistent effort, succeeded in having erased or "expunged."

366. Jackson's Policy led to Bad Banking. — Jackson's financial policy led to serious difficulties. When he withdrew the deposits of the government from the United States Bank, he distributed them among a number of state banks in the South and West which were owned by his political supporters. There was a scramble to secure the funds, and charters were freely given to new banks. Hundreds of them had no capital at all, yet they issued notes and received deposits. The result was that the banking business was based upon a very shaky foundation. Jackson saw that there was trouble ahead, since the government was receiving its revenue in depreciated bank notes. In 1836 the sales of public land amounted to twenty-five million dollars, and the treasury was flooded with this depreciated paper money. Consequently, on July 11, 1836, Jackson issued his famous "Specie Circular," which directed that nothing but gold and silver should be taken in payment for public lands. This measure and the removal of the deposits were the personal acts of the President. They did much toward bringing on the financial panic, or crisis, of 1837, but were by no means the sole cause of it. The people were trying to get rich rapidly by wild speculation.

367. Jackson was successful in his Management of Foreign Affairs. — While the financial affairs of Jackson's administration were not wholly successful, the foreign affairs were handled with great skill. Jackson's methods were honest and direct, and his Secretary of State was skilled in diplomacy and expert in the management of men.

When the colonies became independent, they naturally lost the privilege of trading with the English West Indies. This privilege the Americans were very anxious to regain. Jackson

accordingly sent a representative to England to say that the United States would repeal her laws against British commerce in case Great Britain would allow the United States to trade with the West Indies. Britain agreed, and the affair was closed in 1830.

At about the same time Jackson pressed the French "Spoliation Claims" — claims for money due to the United States for depredations on American commerce. A change in the government of France brought a new king to the throne in 1830, and he recognized the claims as just and promised to pay five million dollars to the United States, which was done in 1835. The payment of other claims was also secured by Jackson, and the power of the United States was recognized. These diplomatic triumphs added to the reputation of the President, and rightly so.

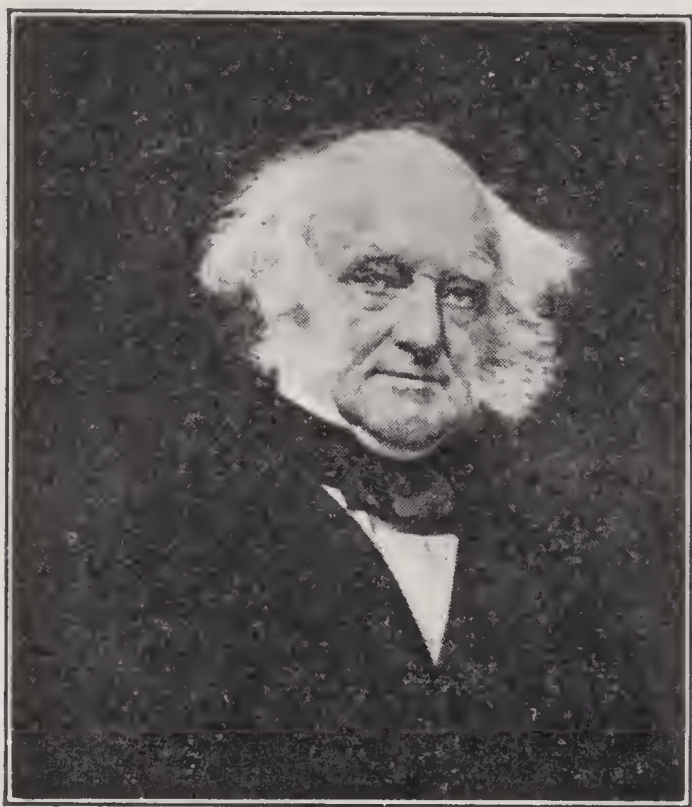
368. Van Buren was elected to succeed Jackson, 1836. — The opposition to Jackson was reorganized in 1834. At that time the National Republican party disappeared and was succeeded by the Whigs. Martin Van Buren was Jackson's favorite, and he was accordingly nominated by the Democrats for the Presidency. The Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison, "the hero of Tippecanoe." Van Buren was elected by a vote of one hundred and seventy to seventy-three. His majority of the popular vote was only twenty-five thousand.

The mantle of Jackson fittingly fell upon the shoulders of Van Buren. Van Buren had been an ardent supporter of Jackson's policy for years, and now after his election promised to follow in the footsteps of his former chief.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1837-1841

369. The Panic came in 1837 and Prices rose enormously. — The administration of Van Buren may be looked upon as a continuation of that of Jackson. In financial matters things were in a bad way. The crash soon came. The wild speculation, the worthless paper money, and Jackson's financial measures brought on the panic of 1837 — the worst the United

States has ever seen. Banks and business houses were failing on every hand, and prices of the necessities of life reached ridiculously high figures. Flour went from four dollars per barrel, in 1834, to eleven dollars, in 1837, while corn rose from fifty-three cents to one dollar and fifteen cents a bushel. Poor people



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Van Buren was born in New York in 1782, and became an eminent lawyer and skilful politician. He was senator, governor of New York, Secretary of State, and President for one term. He died in 1862.

found it very difficult to live, and bread riots prevailed in New York. In this emergency the President called an extra session of Congress to meet in September, but the leaders had no remedies to offer. Calhoun said that the financial condition of the country was "almost incurably bad" and that an "explosion" was sure to come.

370. Better Banking Laws were enacted. — It was plain that the country was doomed to suffer for the folly of insane speculation and unwise financial management, yet there were some things which could be done to improve matters.

In the first place, steps were taken by the states to regulate banking. New York passed a law in 1838 which resembled in some respects our present excellent National Banking Law. Under this law banks could no longer issue notes without giving security for their redemption. This was a step in the right direction. The days of unregulated banking were evidently numbered.

371. Independent Treasury Act, July 4, 1840. — Congress also took steps to protect the funds of the United States by passing the Independent Treasury Act of July 4, 1840. This act provided that vaults and safes should be constructed for the funds of the United States in order that the government might be independent of the banks. It was provided that the officers of the government should give bonds, and "that after June 30,

1843, all payments to or by the United States should be in gold or silver exclusively." This Independent Treasury plan was repealed soon after, but was later reenacted and is in existence to-day.

372. The Election of 1840. — The difficulties which Van Buren had inherited from the Jackson administration had an important bearing upon the election of 1840. The spoils system had led to scandals, and Van Buren was blamed for them. He was looked upon as the man who had imported the system from New York. The finances had been badly managed, and again Van Buren was held accountable. His popularity decreased. "The country had made up its mind that he was a small, selfish, incapable politician, and it judged him accordingly." As a matter of fact a great injustice was done him. He was really a very capable man, and would have given the country a good administration under more favorable circumstances.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The "Hero of Tippecanoe" was born in Virginia, 1773. He was a student at Hampden-Sidney College, and later a soldier. He was the first governor of Indiana Territory, a member of the House of Representatives, a senator, and for one month President of the United States. He died at Washington, D.C., April 4, 1841.

The Democrats nominated Van Buren and the Whigs chose William Henry Harrison. After a picturesque and exciting campaign, Harrison was elected by a vote of two hundred and thirty-four to sixty. The issues of the campaign were not very distinctly drawn, but Harrison, the bold Indian fighter and frontiersman, with his associations of log cabins, coon skins, and hard cider, appealed powerfully to the imagination of the people. The Whigs sang : —

Harrison
defeated
Van Buren
in a stir-
ring cam-
paign.

“Farewell, dear Van,
You’re not our man ;
To guard the ship
We’ll try old Tip.”

And they voted as they sang.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1829–1837. Jackson’s Administrations.
- 1829. First Railroad in the United States.
- 1830. The Great Debate, Webster against Hayne.
- 1832. Nullification.
- 1837–1841. Van Buren’s Administration.
- 1837. Panic.

CHAPTER XXVI

SLAVERY AND THE MISSOURI STRUGGLE

373. The Struggle over Slavery Extension begins. — The greatest political struggle America ever experienced was over the extension of slavery. In this long struggle the first serious difference arose in 1820, when, for the first time since the adoption of the Constitution, the slavery question was brought prominently into national politics. This came about over the admission of Missouri, when a dispute over slavery extension arose that was destined finally to bring on secession and civil war.

When the Constitution was made in 1787, and for some time after, it seems to have been expected by both North and South that slavery would soon disappear; that as soon as the foreign slave trade was prohibited, as was done in 1808, and the supply of slaves was thus cut off, slavery would die a natural death. It was gradually disappearing in the Northern states. Leading Southern men, such as Washington, Jefferson, George Mason, and Patrick Henry, condemned the institution severely. They looked forward to its abolition and sought to prevent its extension.

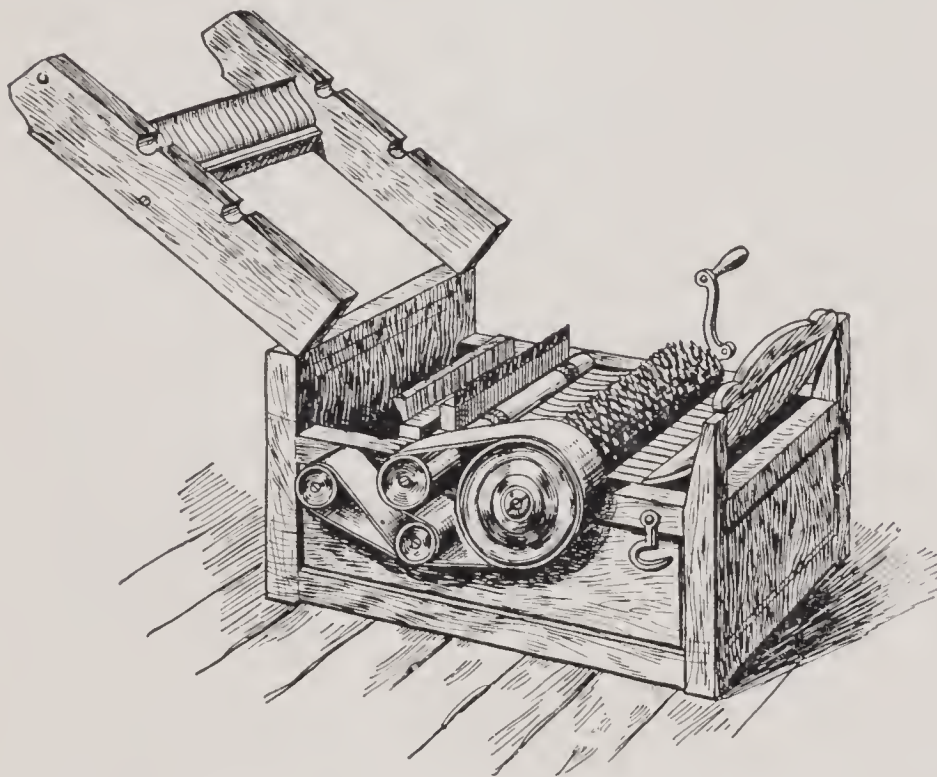
But by 1820 conditions had changed. In 1793 Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, a machine for separating the seed from the fiber of the cotton. This machine enabled one slave to do the work that hundreds had been required for before. The result of this was that cotton culture greatly increased. Cotton raising became very profitable, and thousands of slave owners, in order to raise cotton, moved from the seaboard states to the virgin soil of the Southwest, — to Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Negro

The fathers expected slavery to disappear.

Cotton culture increased the slave interest.

field hands rose in value; moral opposition was allayed; slavery was extended; and the social and economic life of the South was coming more and more to be built on the slavery system.

374. Slave States and Free are admitted Alternately to maintain the "Equilibrium." — There was another important aspect of the matter. Whether it was intended to be so or not, slave



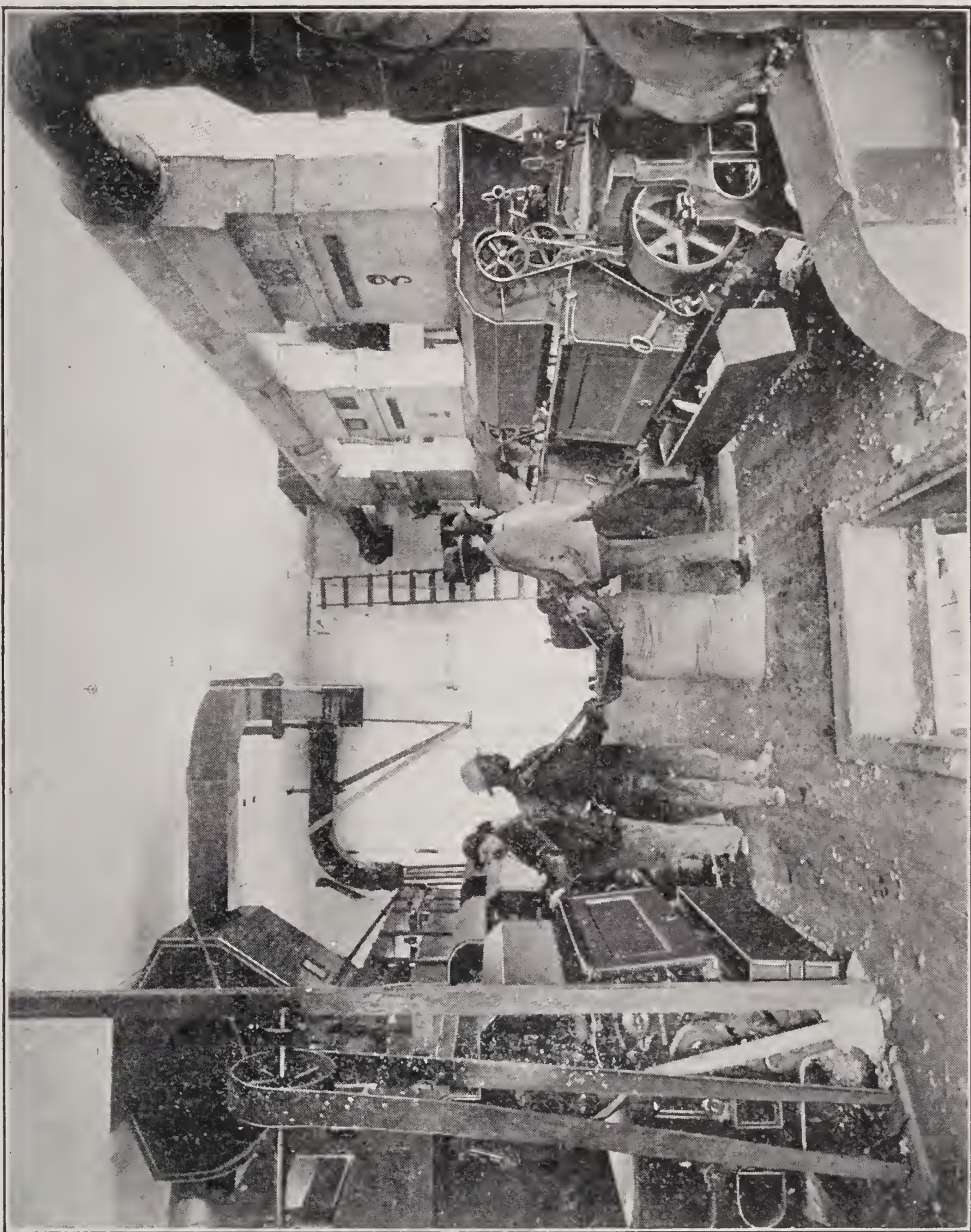
THE FIRST COTTON GIN (1793).

Its influence upon cotton growing and the history of the United States was tremendous. By hand a slave could separate the seeds from only about a pound of cotton fiber, but with the aid of the cotton gin he could separate about a thousand pounds in a day. Before the cotton can be made into cloth the seeds must be taken out.

states and free states had been admitted into the Union alternately since the adoption of the Constitution. By 1819 the balance was even between the slave states and the free. Missouri was ready to apply for admission. The preservation of the *political balance*, of the *equilibrium of political power*, had now become a fixed and positive principle with the South. By 1820 the free states had one hundred and five members of Congress while

the slave states had only eighty-one, and since the North was thus seen to be increasing more rapidly than the South in population and wealth, the only hope of the South in maintaining the "equilibrium of power" was to keep an even balance in the Senate where each state had equal weight with every other. They came to consider a *balance* between the sections as necessary to the Union.

375. Louisiana Territory comes to the United States with Slavery already Established. — This sectional rivalry for political power had been suggested at the time of the admission of Louisiana, the first state admitted from the Louisiana Pur-



A MODERN COTTON GIN.

Cotton planters no longer gin their cotton with little gins of their own, but mills are established at railroad centers to do the ginning for the neighborhood. A modern cotton-ginning establishment contains, besides the gin, the telescope, the elevator, the exhaust fan, the feeder, the seed conveyer, the flue, the condenser, and the press. The machine which separates the fibers from the seed is the gin. All the other machines in the gin mill, except the engine and the boiler, are intended to get the seed cotton to the gin or to take care of the lint and seeds after they leave the gin. The three essential elements of Whitney's gin — the saws, ribs, and brush — are still retained, but the steam roller gin has increased the capacity many times.

chase. Missouri was a part of this purchase, made by Jefferson in 1803. Slaves were property by the French law of Louisiana at that time. Congress did not attempt to change this local law, or to abolish slavery in Louisiana, but recognized its existence there by providing that masters from slave states might bring their slaves into that territory (New Orleans Act, 1804). Under this law masters moved with their slaves into Louisiana and Missouri, and it thus appears that slavery was sanctioned, or recognized, in these territories by national authority.

376. New England opposes the Admission of States from the New Territory.—In 1812 Louisiana was admitted to the Union as a slave state without any controversy over slavery. Its admission, however, was stoutly opposed by some people from the New England states, and Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts hotly denounced the act. He said it would justify revolution and secession, and would virtually dissolve the Union; that the other states would then be “free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare for separation, amicably if they can, forcibly if they must.”

Secession
and state
rights ad-
vocated in
New Eng-
land.

But this was not because Quincy was opposed to slavery, or because Louisiana was coming in as a slave state, but because it was made from territory outside of the original boundary of the Union, and because, as Quincy said, Congress “was not authorized to admit new partners to a share of political power.” That is, the New England states wished to retain their original share of political power, and they saw that if the vast territory of Louisiana were to be carved up and admitted as new states on an equal footing with the other states, political power would surely pass from the North and East to the South and West. Quincy spoke of the Constitution as a “compact” and of the Union as a “partnership,” and he did not wish to admit as equals in political power states made up of “Spaniards, French, Creoles, mulattoes, negroes, and other mongrel races and wild men of the West,” as he

expressed it. He seems not to have been greatly concerned about the evils of slavery; but he did not want the slave section to add to its sectional power.

377. The North objects to admitting Missouri as a Slave State.

— But in 1819, when Missouri, the second state made out of the Louisiana Purchase, applied for admission, the opposition to its coming in was made to rest entirely on slavery. Slavery had been allowed to get a foothold in Missouri. If left to itself that state was sure to come in as a slave state. This would identify it, in interests and politics, with the South, and another important precedent would be set for slavery extension and the extension of the political power that went with slavery.

Men from the North now said that no more slave states should be admitted. Two motives led them to take this stand, one

The North
had two
motives —
one moral,
the other
political.

moral, the other political. But both motives rested on opposition to the extension of slavery. In the first place, Northern men had come to realize more fully the wrongs of slavery and the dangers of its extension. They believed that slavery was a great moral evil, a blight to a new land worse than poisonous weeds or famine or pestilence. They thought it to be their duty to save the new territories and future states from this great evil. They had supposed slavery was to die out, but they now awoke to the fact that the slave system had already been extended far beyond what was originally intended. They wished to reserve the new territories for free immigration, and while they felt that the people of the free states might have acted sooner, they thought the time had now come to take a stand, to make sure that the rest of the Louisiana territory should be reserved for free soil and for free labor, just as the Northwest Territory had been dedicated to freedom by the great Ordinance of 1787.

In the second place, those who said that Missouri should not come in as a slave state were influenced partly by the political motives of Quincy. They did not wish to see an increase of political power in the states of the Southwest, especially, the power which they had in the national government on account

of their slaves. Political power — votes in Congress and the electoral college — was allotted to every slave state for three fifths of its slaves. Here was the big bone of contention. The Southern men felt that this explained the opposition to Missouri, and that the proposal to keep her out on account of the moral evils of slavery was only pretense and hypocrisy. They said it was *power* the North was contending for, and that the free states were seeking to deprive the South of her fair share of political power guaranteed in the Constitution.

In distributing political power among the states, Northern people very much disliked allowing representation for three fifths of the slaves. In 1819 the House of Representatives consisted of 181 members, one member for every 35,000 of the population. There were 1,191,000 slaves. These slaves gave the slave states 20 representatives and 20 presidential electors more than they would be entitled to if the slaves were not counted. By the census of 1810 Virginia contained 582,000 free persons and 392,000 slaves. A free state with 582,000 persons would be allowed to elect 16 representatives to Congress, while Virginia, by counting three fifths of her slaves, was allowed to elect 23 representatives. Thus, 35,000 free persons were needed to elect a member of Congress in a free state, while 25,000 might do so in Virginia; or 5 white men in Virginia were given as much power as 7 in Pennsylvania or Ohio.

The North said that to extend the "three-fifths compromise" would be unfair.

It was felt by the free-state men that this system was unjust; that it gave more power to the slave states than they were justly entitled to; and every new slave state admitted only added to the injustice. This arrangement, they admitted, had been agreed upon as one of the original compromises of the Constitution, but this had been done very reluctantly by the free states in 1787, and was made only for the original states and the territories they then held, and because it was thought to be a necessary sacrifice to secure the adoption of the Constitution. Good faith and honor were pledged not to disturb the agreement of 1787 so far as the

It was agreed to only for the original states.

original slave states were concerned, but to extend this disproportionate power to an indefinite number of new states would be unjust and odious. Thus we see the North was aroused to resist the extension of slavery both from a moral duty and from a sense of political right and self-interest.

The Southern leaders stood up for their rights as they understood them. They said it would be unconstitutional for Congress to impose such a condition on Missouri; that originally, the states were allowed to decide for themselves whether they would have slavery or not; that this was a Union of equal states, and if Missouri were not allowed to decide this question for herself, as Virginia and Massachusetts had done, she would not be equal in rights with the other states, and the character of the Union would be changed. They recognized that Congress could arbitrarily refuse to admit Missouri, but if Congress admitted her it must be without any degrading conditions and as equal to the other states in her right to determine her own "domestic institutions."

378. How a Territory becomes a State.—In March, 1818, Missouri petitioned for statehood. An "enabling act" was proposed, authorizing the people of the Missouri territory to hold a convention to form a state constitution in preparation for admission. This is the way a territory is made into a state. On February 13, 1819, Mr. Tallmadge of New York proposed an amendment to this "enabling act," providing that Missouri should be admitted only on condition that slavery should be gradually abolished there. No new slaves should be brought in and slave children born after the admission of the state should be free at the age of twenty-five. The Tallmadge Amendment passed the House, but it was rejected in the Senate, and Congress adjourned on March 4, 1819, with the two houses in a "deadlock" on this subject.

379. Missouri is made a "Rider" to Maine.—During the summer of 1819 the whole country was greatly agitated over slavery in Missouri. In December, 1819, Maine applied for admission. No "enabling act" of Congress was necessary in

A "dead-
lock"
over the
Tallmadge
Amend-
ment.

the case of Maine, because Maine was a part of Massachusetts, and it had adopted a constitution by the consent of Massachusetts. The House of Representatives readily consented to admit Maine, but in the Senate the Missouri bill (admitting Missouri as a slave state) was attached as a "rider" to the Maine bill. This was done for the purpose of overcoming the opposition in the House to the admission of Missouri. By the use of the "rider" Missouri was to ride in on the back of Maine, or the two states were to come in or stay out together.

380. The Missouri Compromise. — Both sides stood out firmly, and the two houses were again in a deadlock. One side controlled the Senate, the other the House. A compromise was necessary. Under such circumstances a "conference committee" is appointed, consisting of a committee from each house, who meet together and try to come to an agreement which will be accepted by both houses. The compromise provided by this committee was based on a proposal of Senator Thomas of Illinois. It provided: (1) That Maine should be separated from Missouri and admitted free. (2) That Missouri should be admitted as a slave state. (3) That in all the rest of the Louisiana Territory ceded by France north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, "slavery shall be and is hereby forever prohibited." This agreement was approved by both houses of Congress and adopted.

Such was the famous Missouri Compromise, the agreement in 1820 between the North and the South. The compromise is important in three aspects: 1. It recognized a sectional geographical division of the country. The old Mason and Dixon's line and the line of the Ohio River, separating the slave states from the free, was now extended to the western limits, and the sectional character of the slavery interest was thus recognized. It foretold a sectional struggle over slavery.

Why the compromise is important.

2. This compromise recognized the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories. A few years later this power was denied, and for years it was the leading issue in politics. The Compromise of 1820 was looked to as a very important

exercise of this power by Congress, to which President Monroe and his Cabinet (of which Calhoun was a member) gave their consent.

3. The Missouri struggle indicated a notable change in Southern sentiment on the slavery question. Formerly, Southern leaders had spoken out against slavery. But now a growing slave interest had evidently produced a sentiment in support of slavery that was determined to insist upon the protection of slavery by the federal government.¹

¹ After the agreement we have described another struggle arose over Missouri. This was over the Missouri constitution, which required the state legislature to forbid free negroes or mulattoes from settling in that state. The antislavery men refused to admit Missouri under this constitution, and Missouri had to give a pledge that this provision would not be carried out. Clay's work in this last phase of the Missouri struggle gave rise to the subsequent error that he was the author of the Missouri Compromise. He said (February 6, 1850) that "nothing struck him with so much amazement as the fact that historical circumstances so soon passed out of recollection"; and he instanced as a case in point the error of attributing to him the act of 1820. — JOHNSTON and WOODBURN'S "American Orations," Vol. III, p. 351.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ABOLITION AGITATION

381. Garrison and the *Liberator*. — After the excitement over the Missouri question, very little attention was given to the subject of slavery for ten years. But in 1831 William Lloyd Garrison, a young editor, established the *Liberator* in Boston. Garrison and Isaac Knapp were the publishers of this little sheet, which bore for its motto, "Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind." Garrison demanded "that the slaves be set free immediately, without paying the masters and without being taken out of the country." He denounced the Colonization Society, which had been organized in 1816 for the purpose of getting rid of the free blacks by taking them back to Africa. Garrison said this only helped the slaveholders to keep their slaves in bondage. The forerunner of Garrison in the cause of abolition was Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker, who traveled all over the country on horseback and on foot, sacrificing his money and his time to arouse consciences everywhere against the sin and wrong of slavery.

382. The American Antislavery Society. — In 1831 Garrison helped to organize the New England Antislavery Society; and two years later, in 1833, the American Antislavery Society was organized by Garrison, Whittier, Joshua Leavitt, Elizur Wright, Samuel J. May, Arthur Tappan, and others. The declaration of the principles of this society "constitutes one of the most important boundary marks in the history of the United States." This is so because, in the launching of the *Liberator* and in the organization of these Abolition societies, we find the beginning of *Abolitionism*, the greatest moral movement in our ^{Abolition-}national history. It brought a new and powerful ^{ism.} force into American politics, one destined within the next thirty

years to control public discussion, disrupt parties, and divide the Union.

The purpose of abolition was to put an end to slavery immediately, without paying the masters for their slaves. The abolitionists denounced slaveholding in unsparing terms, as a sin and crime and disgrace. They proposed to organize anti-slavery societies all over the land ; to send forth agents to agitate ; to circulate literature ; to enlist the pulpit and the church ; to spare no exertion or lawful means to destroy slavery. They pledged themselves to do all in their power to deliver their land from what they considered its deadliest curse, " no matter what may come to us in our persons, our interests, or our reputations, whether we live to witness the triumph of liberty and humanity or perish untimely as martyrs in this benevolent and holy cause."

Methods
of Aboli-
tionists.

Here was uncompromising moral war declared on the labor system of the South. There could now be no more peace with slavery. The abolition agitation meant a state of war between the sections. Leaders on both sides believed that the slaveholding states of the South and the free states of the North would never be able to live in harmony after it began. Either abolitionism or slavery must be put down. " Union-savers " and " dough-faces " and " compromisers " on both sides might cry " Peace " and " Union," but no permanent peace or union could be had without removing the cause of the strife, that is, slavery.

Abolition-
ists declare
war on
slavery.

383. The Slaveholders are aroused to defend Slavery. — Evidently, a struggle was coming. Slavery was going to be discussed, and the slaveholders saw that they had either to give up slavery or fight in its defense. They chose to fight. They replied with indignation and anger to what they considered the outrageous insult and injury of the abolition attacks. The governors of Georgia and Virginia called on the mayor of Boston to suppress the *Liberator*. Harrison Gray Otis, mayor of Boston, replied that no member of the city government in Boston had ever heard of the *Liberator*, but that finally the

officers had "ferreted out the paper and its editor"; that Garrison's office "was an obscure hole, his only visible help a negro boy, and his supporters a few insignificant persons of all colors." James Russell Lowell made this the text of his poem, "To W. L. Garrison," beginning, —

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor unlearned young man;
The place was dark, unfurnished and mean;
Yet there the freedom of a race began."

The legislature of Georgia offered five thousand dollars to any person who would kidnap Garrison and secure his conviction under the laws of that state. The slave laws of the Southern states were strengthened; voluntary emancipation was restrained; the life of the free colored people in the South was made harder; demands were increased for the return of fugitive slaves; and Southern leaders instead of speaking of slavery as a social and political evil now came to defend slavery as a "positive good," as Calhoun put it. Governor McDuffie of South Carolina said: "Slavery is the most perfect system of political and social happiness that ever existed; instead of being a political evil, domestic slavery is the corner stone of our republican edifice. The black man is designed by Providence for slavery. No human institution is more manifestly consistent with the will of God." Almost the entire South united to defend slavery.

It is hardly to be wondered at that the slaveholders were indignant and angry at the abolition attacks. They had over a *billion dollars* invested in slaves. Their law had recognized slaves as property for two hundred years. They had inherited this property, had grown up with it, and all their contracts and customs and their whole system of society were based on it. They were proud and high-spirited, and it was not human nature meekly to submit and give up their property. And the abolitionists were attacking not only the property of the Southerners, but also their characters. The slaveholders were painted as oppressors.

The South was offended because the Abolitionists attacked the character of her citizens and proposed to destroy their property.

Abolition almanacs and papers were sent broadcast with pictures of the slave mother on the auction block being sold from her children, or of a slave being whipped at the stake or being branded with a hot iron, or of a black fugitive being pursued with guns and bloodhounds. The fact is, these were the exceptions and excesses in slavery. The great mass of the slaves were well-treated; their masters were kind to them and they were attached to their masters. The white people in the South felt that the blacks had to be cared for, that they were not capable of freedom, and that a horrible race war would result if the slaves were set free.

Southern defenders of slavery claimed that the condition of the blacks had been improved by their enslavement in America; that the slaves were better off than factory hands in the North; and they asserted that Southern slavery was no business of the Northern people and that they had no right to intermeddle or advise. The Southerners believed that emancipation could only lead to intermarriage of the races, which was abhorrent to all their feelings; or to a race conflict, which would certainly lead to the destruction of one race or the other. They had an awful dread of a slave insurrection, and they thought the Abolitionists, whether they intended it or not, were instigating the negroes to rise and slaughter their masters and desolate the homes of the whites.

384. The Nat Turner Insurrection, 1831. — In the same year that Garrison started his *Liberator*, the Nat Turner insurrection occurred at South Hampton, Virginia. Turner was a negro slave, a reader of the Bible, who stirred up the slaves against their masters. More than sixty whites, men, women, and children, and more than one hundred negroes, were killed before the insurrection was put down. This horrible affair threw the whole South into a state of intense excitement. No connection was ever shown to exist between this affair and the abolitionists, but the latter were blamed for it, and the slaveholders felt that their homes, their lives, and their whole social system were threatened. They demanded that the Abolitionists be put down

and their agitation suppressed; that their societies should be dispersed by law; and that speaking against slavery should be made a crime.

385. Northern People try to suppress Abolitionism by Violence. — The Northern states were not ready to go so far as this, but for a while the great body of the Northern people sympathized with the South. Some Northern communities turned on the Abolitionists and tried to suppress them by mob violence. Garrison and his followers were everywhere met with violence and abuse. Their meetings were broken up, their speakers were egged and stoned; and it seemed that free speech and free press were to be denied to them.

Prudence Crandall, a school teacher in Connecticut, had her school mobbed, and she was cast into prison because she admitted colored girls to her school. James G. Birney, a Southerner who had freed his slaves and become an Abolitionist, had his meetings broken up and his printing press destroyed and thrown into the Ohio River at Cincinnati. The Reverend Elijah P. Lovejoy, who was not an Abolitionist, but an antislavery man who wished to discuss the slavery question, was killed at Alton, Illinois, while defending his press against a pro-slavery mob. In Boston, George Thompson, an English Abolitionist, was announced to speak at a woman's abolition society, (Oct. 21, 1835). A public reward of one hundred dollars was offered to the "first man who should lay violent hands on the foreign scoundrel, that he might be brought to the tar kettle before dark." The mayor was unable to protect the meeting. The rioters shouted for Garrison, who endeavored to escape by a back door. Garrison was seized and was dragged through the streets of Boston amid a howling mob. It was with great difficulty that the mayor succeeded in getting him into a carriage, and lodged him in jail for safety.

Garrison
mobbed
and put
in prison.

The next day Garrison wrote on the walls of his cell: "William Lloyd Garrison was put in this cell, Wednesday, October 21, 1835, to save him from the violence of a respectable and influential mob, who sought to destroy him for preaching the abomi-

nable and dangerous doctrine that all men are created equal, and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God. Hail Columbia! Cheers for the Autocrat of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey! Reader, let this inscription remain until the last slave in this despotic land shall be loosed from his fetters."

386. William Ellery Channing defends the Abolitionists. — These persecutions of the Abolitionists raised up for them friends and defenders, as is usually the case in persecutions. When Birney was attacked in Cincinnati, William Ellery Channing, a noted minister in New England, and afterward one of the ablest writers in the antislavery cause, spoke out in defense of free speech. Channing stood for many antislavery men who were not originally Abolitionists, and he thought Garrison and his followers were immoderate and extreme in their demands.

Channing, like most Northern men, regarded slavery as "the calamity, not the crime of the South"; he believed the whole nation was responsible for the wrong, since New England slave dealers had carried and sold slaves to the South. Channing said that the whole nation should aid the Southern people in getting rid of their burden. He would sell the public lands and pay masters for their slaves, as Great Britain had paid one hundred million dollars to buy the slaves and to secure emancipation in the British West Indies, in 1833.

But when Channing saw the violent outrages heaped upon the Abolitionists he felt that the most sacred rights of freemen were being assailed and that in standing up stoutly for their liberty to think, and to speak, and to publish their thoughts, the brave antislavery men had won for themselves everlasting honor among the defenders of American liberty.

387. Wendell Phillips the Abolition Orator. — The Garrison mob and the death of Lovejoy led Wendell Phillips, the greatest orator of his time, to give his talents to the cause of abolition. Phillips, like Channing, was highly educated, and his stirring addresses, like Channing's essays, did much to arouse people to oppose slavery.

In spite of all opposition the Abolitionists rapidly increased in

numbers. By 1837 they had fifteen hundred societies with one hundred and fifty thousand members; and they were growing at the rate of one society a day. They were establishing able newspapers, and their agents worked with great zeal.

Growth
of aboli-
tionism.

But in 1839-1840 there was a split in the abolition ranks. One group may be called the "Garrisonians," the other the "Liberty Party men." Garrison led the first group, who were the extreme Abolitionists. They did not believe in voting, or in holding office, or in electing men to office, as a means of fighting slavery. They proposed to oppose slavery merely by moral weapons, and there were many other moral reforms that most of them were interested in. They denounced the Constitution. They said, "No union with slaveholders."

The "Gar-
risonians."

388. The Liberty Party. — The "Liberty Party men" believed in voting, organizing a political party, and nominating candidates for President and Vice President. They believed the Union ought to be preserved. They thought the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution was null and void because it violated the "higher law" of God. With that exception they could swear to support the Constitution, which they said was an instrument for the defense of liberty not of slavery. They said antislavery men ought to try to get control of the government and use all its power against slavery. They said slavery should be only sectional, or local, while freedom should be national. This party nominated James G. Birney for President in 1840, and polled seven thousand votes. So the abolition question could not be kept out of politics.

The "Lib-
erty Party
Men" and
their prin-
ciples.

389. The South tried to exclude Abolition Papers from the Mails. — Nor could the abolition struggle be kept out of Congress. As the Abolitionists had had to struggle in the country at large for freedom of speech and the freedom of the press, so now they had to face the government for freedom of petition and the freedom of the mails. At the Charleston (South Carolina) post office in 1835, antislavery papers were taken from the mails and burned. The postmaster-general, Amos Kendall,

recognized this as unlawful, but he did not condemn the act. President Jackson suggested to Congress the passage of a law that would prohibit, under severe penalties, "the circulation of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection"; and Calhoun proposed a law prohibiting the circulation of any papers which any state might deem "incendiary."

The Abolitionists denied and resented the charge of President Jackson that they were seeking to arouse the slaves to insurrection, and insisted on their right to the use of the mails for their newspapers. Of course, postmasters could not be allowed to decide what literature was too dangerous to circulate in their neighborhoods; and it was impossible to adopt Calhoun's plan of allowing each state to decide what was "incendiary," and by whom and how far the mails should be used. So the attempt to deny to the Abolitionists the freedom of the mails came to nothing, except to draw more public attention to the abolition cause.

390. Struggle over the Right of Petition. — The Abolitionists admitted that Congress had no control over slavery within a state, but they felt that Congress had a right and was in duty bound to suppress the slave trade between the states, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territories, and wherever Congress had control. They got up petitions to Con-

The Abolitionists tried to exclude slavery from the District of Columbia.

gress praying that body to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. In 1802 the slave laws of Maryland had been adopted for the District of Columbia. As Washington was the national capital, the Abolitionists felt that the whole nation was responsible for slavery there, and they wanted it abolished. The slaveholders objected to this. They said slavery should be abolished in the District only on the request of the people living there, and after obtaining the consent of Virginia and Maryland, and then only after full compensation to the owners. Emancipation in Washington, it was thought, would endanger slavery in the neighboring states.

391. The Slavery Discussion in Congress. — Along with these petitions some resolutions were presented from the legislature

of the state of Vermont, against the annexation of Texas and against slavery in the District of Columbia. Here was a "sovereign state" taking part in the petitions, and it would seem that Congress could hardly refuse to hear what a state had to say. The Vermont resolutions were denounced by Senator King of Alabama, as a "libel and insult to the South," and Henry A. Wise of Virginia, in a heated speech in the House, demanded that Congress pass a resolution disclaiming any power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Slade of Vermont got a chance to reply to Wise, and for two hours he made such an antislavery speech as had never been heard before on the floors of Congress. He discussed the whole subject of slavery on its merits, condemning it with great severity and declaring relentless war on slavery in the halls of Congress. Slade's speech aroused hot resentment and anger among Southern members. Wise of Virginia called upon his colleagues to retire from the hall, and a scene of confusion followed while the Southerners seemed preparing to leave in a body. They said they would not sit there and hear slavery discussed in such a manner. It was evident that Abolitionists and slaveholders could not abide together and debate peaceably on slavery in the same assembly.

More moderate slaveholders, like Clay, admitted that Congress had constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but they thought it unwise and inexpedient to do so; it would cause hard feeling, disturb the peace and harmony between the sections, and endanger the Union. For this reason Clay and those who were ready to compromise and do everything they thought was necessary to save the Union sided with the Southerners in their efforts to suppress abolition petitions. They were especially anxious not to have the question discussed at all in Congress, as that would enable antislavery petitions, speeches, and arguments to be printed and sent all over the country. So, for the sake of protecting slavery from agitation, a "gag rule" was adopted to shut off the

Clay's moderate attitude on the abolition agitation.

The "Gag Rule."

abolition petitions. This provided that "all petitions, memorials, or papers relating in any way to slavery shall be laid on the table without any further notice." This was a very foolish policy from the standpoint of those who wished to defend slavery. It only raised a new issue, added to the excitement, and made more Abolitionists.

392. John Quincy Adams defends the Right of Petition. — The right peaceably to assemble and petition the government is guaranteed in the Constitution; it was a right older than the Constitution itself, and down to this time (1834–1837) Congress had always received such petitions, heard them, and referred them to the proper committees. Not to receive or hear a petition was the same as denying all right to petition. It was the denial of this right by the effort to "gag" the antislavery men that aroused John Quincy Adams to enter the antislavery fight and to become a powerful ally of the Abolitionists. Adams was not an Abolitionist, but he was in favor of free petition and free debate, and for years he used all his great ability and eloquence

Death of
Adams,
1848.

in opposing the slaveholders on this new issue that they had raised. He also opposed slavery extension and the annexation of Texas. After retiring from the

Presidency, Adams was elected in 1831 to the lower house of Congress, where he passed the rest of his days, till he died at his post of duty in the House in 1848, uttering his famous dying words, "This is the last of earth."

In these last years of his life, Adams won as great distinction as a member of the House of Representatives, championing the

Adams's
fight
against
the "gag
rule."

right of petition, as in the greater office that he had formerly filled. When the "gag rule" was proposed, Adams said, "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution, the rules of this house,

and the rights of my constituents." And when a resolution was offered denying to Congress the right to interfere with slavery in the states, he said he could disprove it if he were allowed five minutes of time for debate. He was not allowed the five minutes in which to speak, but he continued to offer petitions day

by day and to try to have them heard. These petitions were mostly against slavery, but one was in favor of slavery, one was for the dissolution of the Union, and one was for his own expulsion from the House. It mattered not to Adams what the petition was for, he would stand for the right of his constituents to have it offered and received. When he offered a petition from a number of slaves, the representatives from the slave states were exasperated beyond measure, and when he finally informed the House that the petition was *against abolition* and in favor of slavery, his opponents were still so angry that they attempted to expel him for trifling with the House.

Adams kept up the fight for eight years, until the "gag policy" was abandoned, 1844. During this struggle Adams stood alone in advocating the startling doctrine that Congress, by the exercise of the war power under the Constitution, had the constitutional authority to abolish slavery within the states. This doctrine was afterward made use of by Congress and President Lincoln in the Civil War. The power of emancipation as a war measure was based upon the doctrine announced at this time by John Quincy Adams.¹

Adams
claims a
"war
power" to
abolish
slavery.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1820. The Missouri Compromise.
- 1831. Founding of the *Liberator* and beginning of Abolition Movement.
- 1833. American Antislavery Society Organized.
- 1835. Texas declared her Independence of Mexico.
- 1836-1838. Abolition Petitions denied by Congress.
- 1841-1845. Harrison and Tyler's Administration.
- 1842. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty.
- 1844. Invention of Electric Telegraph.

¹ See Johnston and Woodburn's "American Orations," Vol. I, pp. 115, 375.

CHAPTER XXVIII

TEXAS, OREGON, AND THE MEXICAN WAR

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

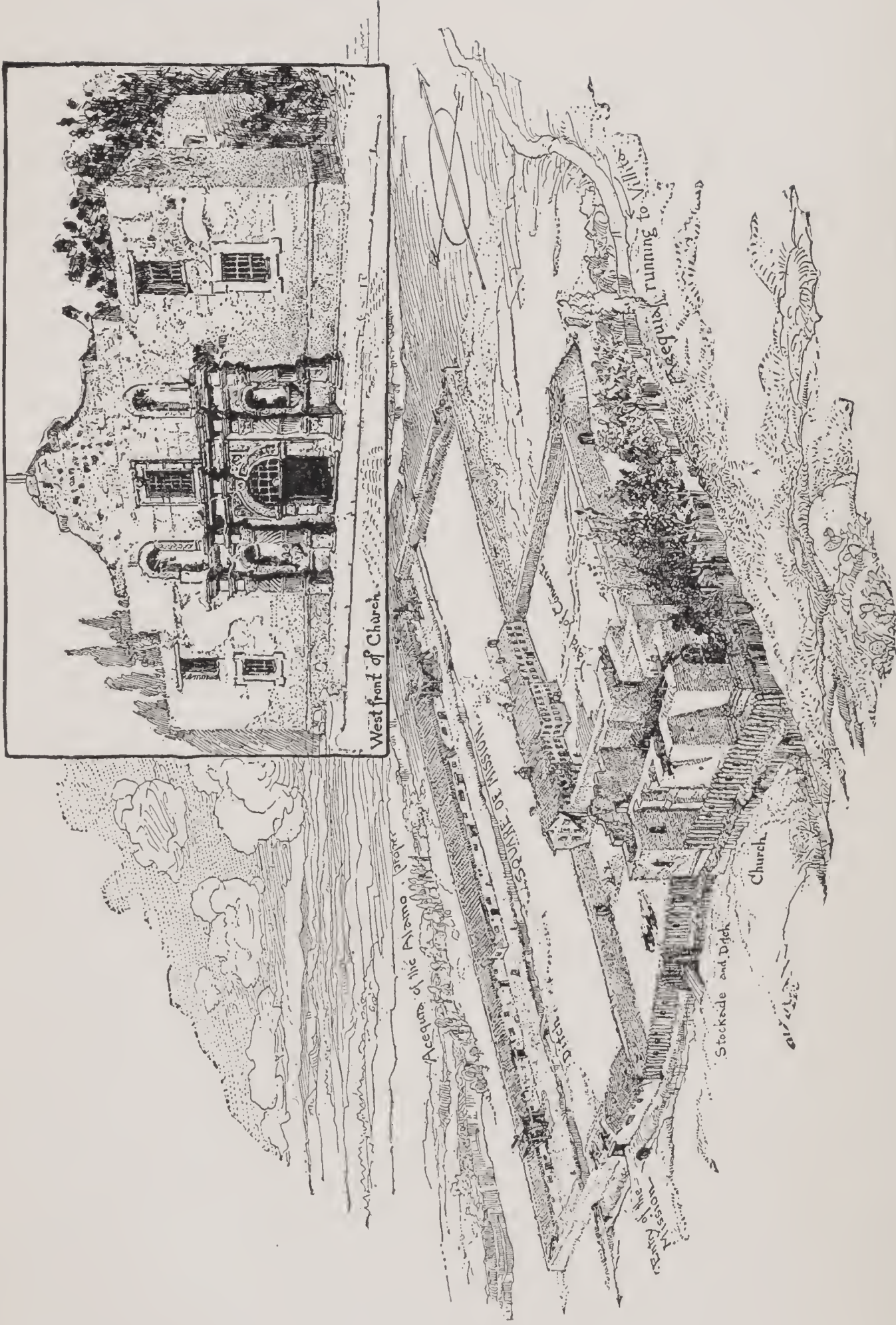
393. Moses Austin made Settlements in Texas. — After the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, Texas — which may be briefly described as the area between the Sabine and the Rio Grande — was in dispute between Spain and the United States. This dispute was settled in 1819 in the Florida Treaty, by which the United States recognized the Sabine as the western boundary of Louisiana. After that Texas was clearly a part of Mexico and not of the United States. So when Mexico became independent of Spain in 1821, Texas became a part of the Mexican Republic. The United States afterward tried to buy Texas, but Mexico refused to sell (1828–1829).

In 1819 Moses Austin, a Connecticut Yankee, made plans for planting an American colony in Texas. In 1821 and 1822 Austin's son, Stephen F. Austin, led American settlers into Texas, some of them with their slaves. The Mexican government abolished slavery in 1829, but the Texans disregarded this law and still continued to hold their slaves. Mexico then, in 1830, attempted to restrict American migration to Texas, there being by this time about twenty thousand colonists in Texas, most of them Americans.

394. Texas revolts from Mexico. — The Mexican government was not satisfactory to the Texans. The Mexican dictator,

The Texans wanted local self-government. Santa Anna, had too much power in his own hands. In 1835 he changed the constitution of Mexico, depriving the Texans of local self-government. The

Texans felt that their lives and property were not sufficiently protected. They differed from the Mexicans in race



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THE ALAMO, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

Built in 1722 as a Franciscan mission house; after 1793 used occasionally as a fort and renamed "The Alamo." Scene of the heroic defense of Texan independence, 1836. The five survivors who were taken prisoners by the Mexicans were slaughtered on the spot, and "Remember the Alamo!" became the slogan of the Texans.

and religion, and they wanted republican, local, state government of their own, such as they had been used to in the United States. In 1835 they rose in revolt against Mexico to secure their independence, and in 1836, under the leadership of Sam Houston, they drew up a constitution recognizing slavery and claiming as the boundary of independent Texas "to the mouth of the Rio Grande, thence up that river to its source."

The Texans fought bravely for freedom from Mexico. At the Alamo, a fortified convent in San Antonio, a little band of one hundred and eighty-three Texans were besieged by an army of one thousand Mexicans, and it was understood that if the Alamo had to be carried by assault, the garrison would be put to the sword. ^{The massacre of the Alamo.} Colonel Travis, the Texan commander, announced that he "would never surrender or retreat." The Mexicans assaulted the fort and "a desperate hand-to-hand struggle followed, and all but about a half dozen of the Texans died fighting." The survivors were all massacred, not a man of the garrison being left alive. This was in March, 1836. The Texans never forgot the Alamo. The massacre embittered them against the Mexicans and made them resolve never again to submit to Mexican rule.

A few weeks later (April 21, 1836) the Texans inflicted upon the Mexicans a crushing defeat in the decisive battle of San Jacinto. Santa Anna, the Mexican leader, was captured, the Mexicans lost sixteen hundred men, more than twice the number of the whole Texan army, and ^{Battle of San Jacinto, 1836.} Texan independence was soon recognized by Great Britain, France, and the United States. For nine years (1836-1845) Texas was known as the "Lone Star ^{Lone Star Republic, 1836-1845.} Republic."

395. Reasons for Opposition to Annexation. — During this period the Texans wished to be annexed to the United States; and but for the slavery question, and fear of war with Mexico, Texas would probably have been admitted to the Union soon after 1836 without opposition. Americans had helped to secure

Texan independence by furnishing men, money, and arms; Southern leaders were determined to have Texas in the Union. The Texans were brother Americans; they had a fertile and extensive country; slave property was allowed there; more territory was needed for slave expansion; they claimed it would be only reannexation of territory that ought never to have been given up; and, most important of all, equality of power in the Senate for the slave interest demanded that there should be more slave states if "the Southern scale were not to kick the beam."

These were some of the very reasons why Abolitionists and antislavery men so stoutly opposed annexation. They felt that securing more slave territory should be prevented at every hazard; that it would strengthen and perpetuate the control of the slaveholders over the national government; and that the taking of Texas would be an unjust seizure of the territory of a weaker nation that would certainly bring on war with Mexico.

396. Annexation as a Party Issue, 1844. — The question came to be the chief political issue in the campaign of 1844. Under Southern leadership the Democratic party, by reviving the "two-thirds rule," laid aside Van Buren as the party candidate because he had opposed annexation, and took up a comparatively unknown man, James K. Polk of Tennessee, who has been called the first "dark horse" in American politics; that is, one who had not been publicly mentioned for the Presidency before the convention nominated him. Polk had come out openly for annexation. The Democrats went into the campaign with the cry,

"Hurrah for Polk and annexation,
Down with Clay and high taxation."

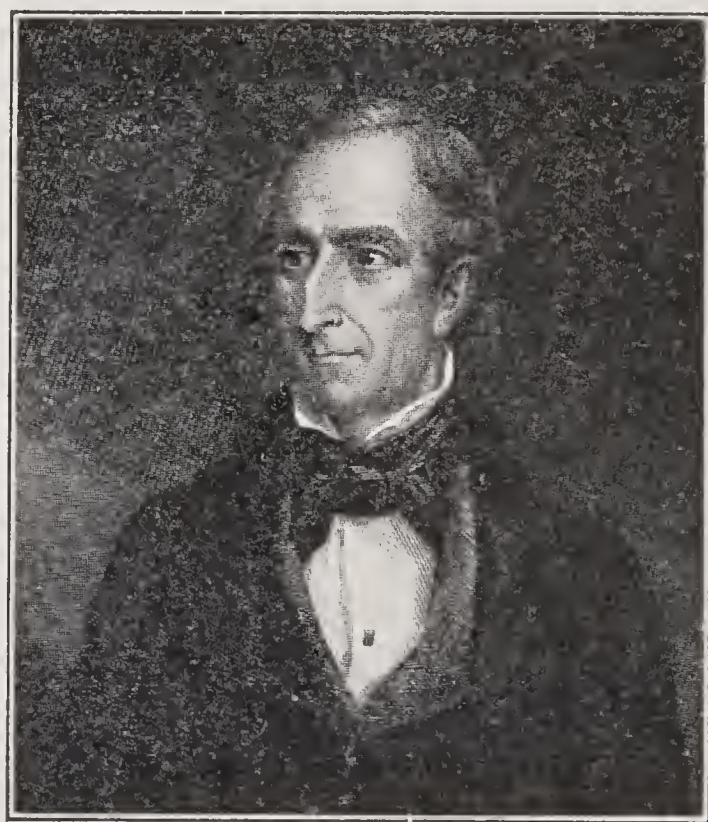
The Whigs nominated Clay, and they thought it not possible for the unknown, commonplace Polk to be elected over their renowned and brilliant leader. But in the midst of the campaign, Clay, who had been opposed to annexation, wrote a letter to satisfy Southern Whig annexationists, in which he said he was not *personally* opposed to

Clay on
annexa-
tion.

annexation, and that he would be glad to see Texas annexed "without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms." This seemed to make Clay's position uncertain, and to make annexation only a question of time and method, which did not satisfy the radical antislavery men. Extension of slavery was all they saw in the question of Texas, and enough of them withdrew their support from Clay in New York to give Polk that important state and elect him. They voted for James G. Birney, who had again been nominated for President by the Abolitionists under the name of the "Liberty Party."

Clay loses
anti-
slavery
votes.

397. Tyler disappoints the Whigs. — Polk was elected to annex Texas, but he found the work done before he came into office. It had been done during the last days of the Tyler administration. Tyler, as Vice President, succeeded to the Presidency after Harrison's death, in April, 1841. He was a Southern states' rights Democrat of the Calhoun faction of the party. The Whigs put him on their ticket in 1840, because he had been opposed to Jackson, and as a kind of bid for the states' rights influence. When Tyler came into the Presidency, in 1841, he offended the Whig leaders by his continued use of the veto, and especially by his veto of the Whig measures, the bank and the tariff. His Cabinet all resigned except Webster, who remained as Secretary of State to complete the Webster-Ashburton Treaty relating to our northeastern boundary.



JOHN TYLER.

John Tyler was a member of a distinguished Virginia family, and was born in 1790. He was educated at William and Mary College, and after filling various offices became President upon the death of President Harrison. In 1861 he was elected a member of the Confederate Congress. He died in 1862.

Tyler entered heartily into the scheme for annexation. He

made Calhoun Secretary of State for this purpose. Calhoun was the original author of annexation, and no one did more than he to bring it about. He had spoken in favor of it as early as 1836, only a month after the battle of San Jacinto. Great Britain wished to see slavery abolished in Texas, as well as throughout the rest of the world, and she tried to induce Mexico to recognize Texan independence on condition that Texas would abolish slavery. Calhoun said this was a matter of "deep concern" to the United States, and that for the sake of our peace and security America could no longer postpone annexation. Calhoun thought Texas would soon become a free country unless it were annexed to the United States, and he believed that if Texas continued independent without slavery, slavery could not be long continued in the Southern states. By his policy in the State Department, Calhoun was now using all the power and influence of the national government to keep Texas a slave state and to bring it into the Union as a means of strengthening and sustaining slavery in the South.

This "nationalizing" of slavery in order to protect it was of great importance and influence in arousing Abolitionist opposition in the North, and in subsequently dividing the states and political parties sectionally on the issue of slavery.

398. Annexation by Treaty fails, but a Joint Resolution succeeds. — Calhoun negotiated a treaty with Texas providing for its admission into the Union, but this was rejected by the Senate (April, 1844). Tyler and the friends of Texas then waited until after the election of Polk, which they interpreted as an order from the people in favor of annexation. A joint resolution was then passed through Congress (March 1, 1845) providing for the admission of Texas. A treaty must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, and it was evident that annexation could not be brought about in that way. So the annexationists resorted to the plan of joint resolution — a way by which territory had never been annexed before.

Tyler appoints Calhoun Secretary of State to bring about annexation.

Calhoun brings slavery under national protection by his policy of annexation.

399. Final Conditions of Annexation. — Texas accepted the plan and was finally made a state, in December, 1845 — the last slave state that ever came into the Union. The resolution admitting Texas provided that, with the consent of Texas, four other states might be made out of that state (it was expected that all would be slave states), except that slavery should be prohibited in any new state north of $36^{\circ} 30'$. Thus the Missouri line and the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories were again recognized.

THE OREGON QUESTION

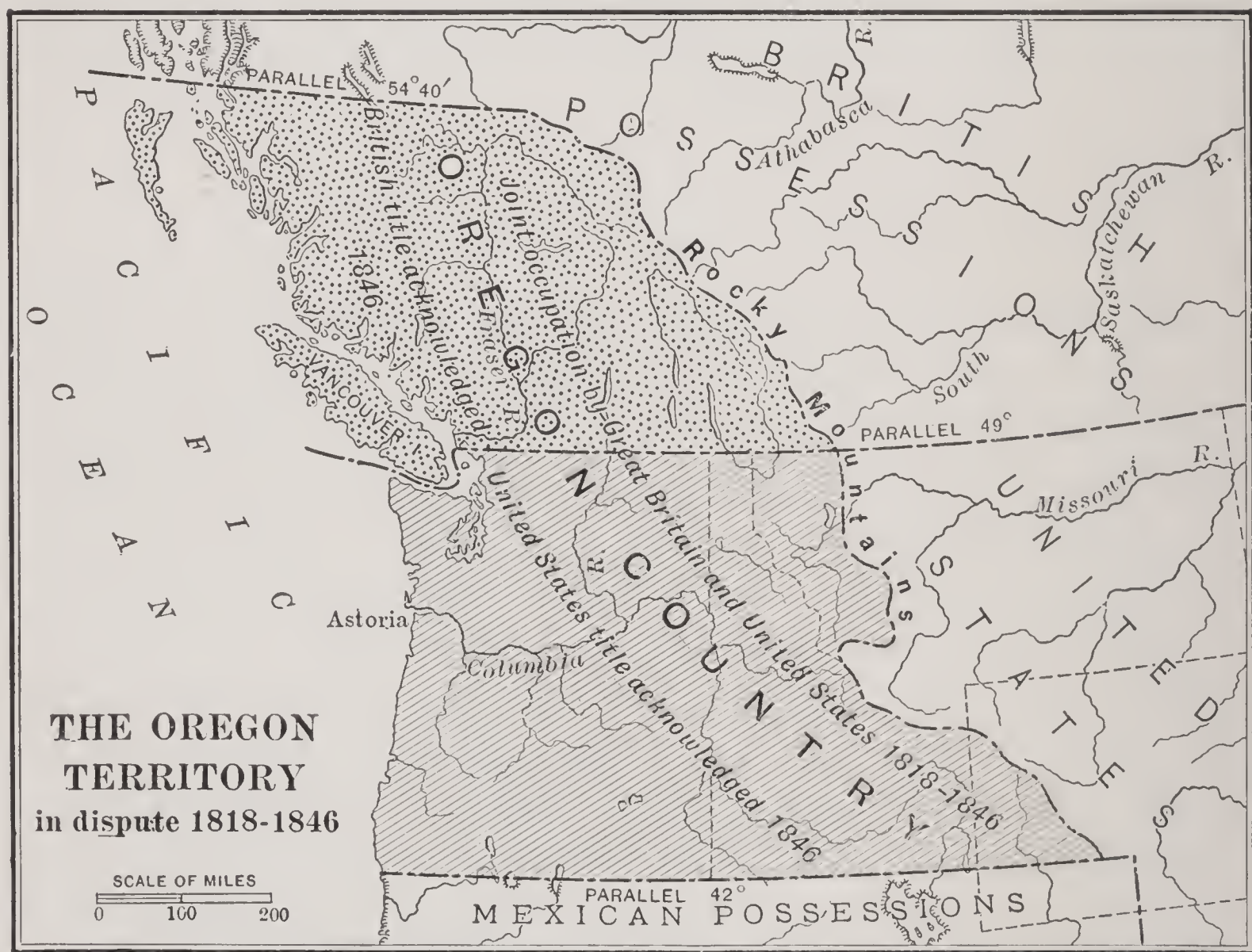
400. Americans and British claimed Oregon. — The Oregon country was the region on the Pacific coast west of the Rocky Mountains from the north boundary of California to the south boundary of Alaska, from latitude 42° to $54^{\circ} 40'$. In the early part of the nineteenth century four nations claimed rights in this region, — Spain, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States. The Americans secured Spain's rights in 1819, and Russia retired as a claimant in 1824 and 1825. In treaties with Great Britain and the United States, Russia recognized $54^{\circ} 40'$ as the south boundary of Alaska. A long dispute over Oregon continued between Great Britain and the United States. The American claim rested on the discovery of the Columbia by Captain Gray in 1792; on the Louisiana Purchase in 1803; on the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804–1805; on the settlement of Astoria in 1811; and on the Florida treaty with Spain in 1819, when Spain surrendered her claims in favor of the United States.

Great Britain based her claims on (1) the early voyages of Drake; (2) the third voyage of Captain Cook in 1778, who examined the coast above 44° ; (3) the survey of this coast by Vancouver in 1792 and 1793; and (4) the trading posts and interests of the Hudson Bay Company.

401. America and Great Britain agree on Joint Occupancy, 1818. — In 1818 the two countries agreed by treaty to joint

British
claims to
Oregon.

occupancy of the country; that is, the final settlement of the claims was to be postponed, while the citizens of both countries were to be allowed to settle there. This arrangement was to last ten years, and before it expired the agreement was renewed in 1827, to continue until one of the countries desired to end it, which it could do by giving one year's notice to the other.



In the thirties American trading companies, missionaries, and settlers went to Oregon, and a sentiment arose in the United States in favor of giving notice to Great Britain that the joint occupation should cease. It was asserted in Congress and in the press that the claim of the United States was good to the whole of Oregon and that our authority should be extended over all of it. This would have shut British America out from the Pacific Ocean, and Great Britain would probably have gone to war before giving up all her claims on the coast. A warlike spirit arose in America and the cries, "All of Oregon or none," "Fifty-four forty or fight,"

The United States desires the whole of Oregon.

were heard in the campaign of 1844, and the "reoccupation of Oregon" was demanded in the Democratic platform. President Polk, in his inaugural address (1845), spoke of "our domain extending from ocean to ocean," and he asserted (using the language of his party platform) that "our title to the Oregon country was clear and unquestionable." Some leaders in Congress said that this was "mere buncombe and claptrap" in Polk, and that he did not intend to do anything against England. The House of Representatives, in March, 1846, passed a joint resolution to give the one year's notice for terminating the joint occupancy in Oregon, and it looked as if our country would be involved in war with two countries at once.

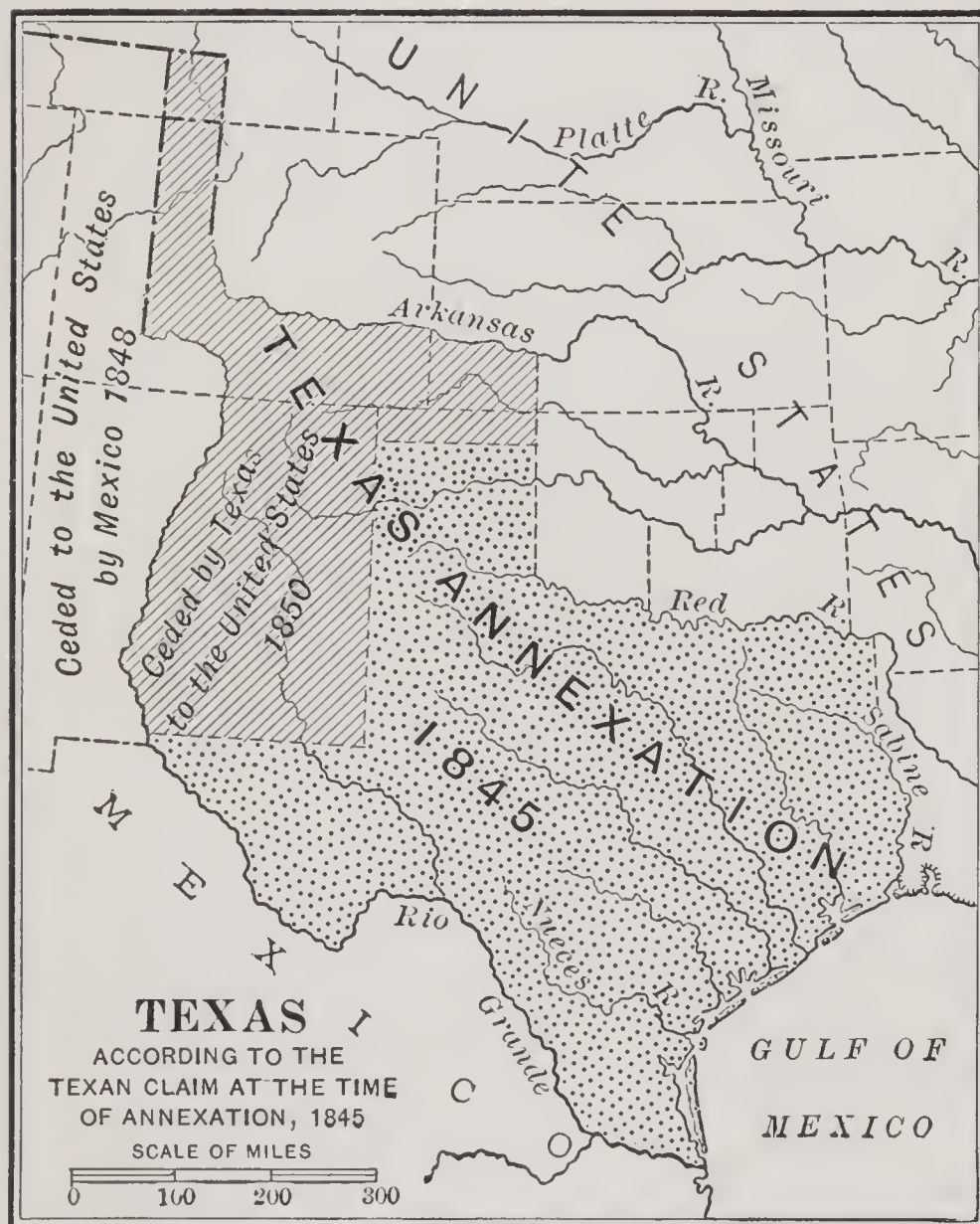
402. The Oregon Dispute is settled Peaceably. — Fortunately, better counsels prevailed, and a peaceful settlement was reached. Our title to Oregon was not "clear and unquestionable," as Polk asserted. The claim of neither country was incontestable, though we think ours was the better. Neither side wished to continue the joint occupancy; neither country wished to go to war to settle the dispute; neither would give up all to the other. So a compromise was the only way to settle the question. After our notice for ending the joint occupation had been given, the British minister offered a treaty extending the 49th parallel (which was our northern boundary to the Rockies) from the mountains to the coast, following the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the ocean. Polk submitted this offer to the Senate and asked its "advice and consent" about accepting the offer. The Senate advised the President to accept this boundary, and on August 5, 1846, the Oregon treaty was made on this basis. We thus wisely avoided war with Great Britain.

THE MEXICAN WAR

1846-1848

304. Annexation causes Mexico to break off Friendly Relations with the United States. — When we annexed Texas, we

annexed her quarrel with Mexico. Mexico had not given up her claim to Texas, and she had let it be understood that annexation would be considered a cause of war. Accordingly, when the annexation resolution passed Congress, the Mexican minister at Washington protested, demanded his passports, and thus diplomatic relations between the two governments were severed.

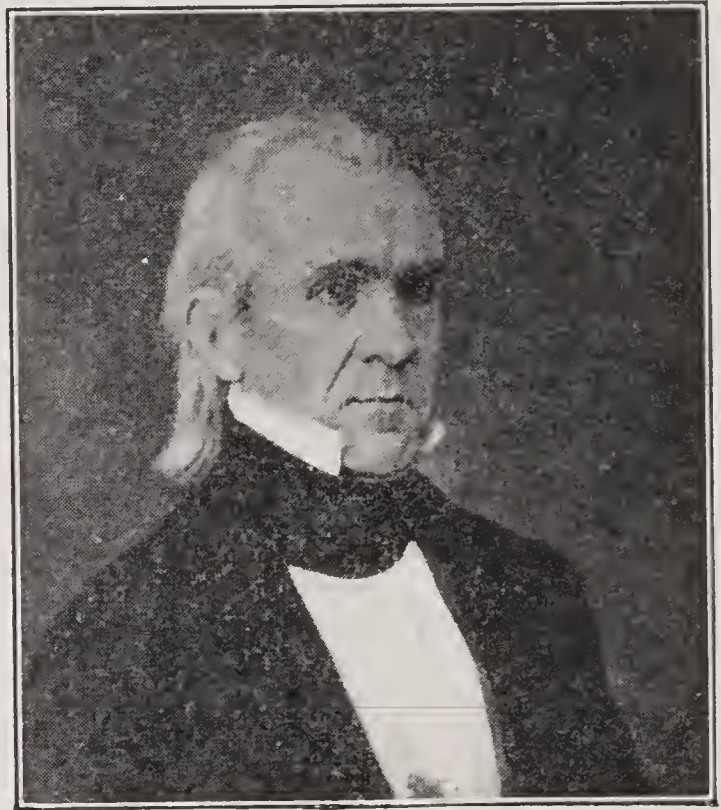


Texas makes an extravagant claim to territory.

Such an international situation makes it more difficult to avoid war. The Rio Grande was claimed by Texas as her western boundary. The old territorial Texas of 1800, which Spain ceded to France and which, as we claimed, France ceded to the United States in 1803, had reached to the Rio Grande; but the Mexican state of Texas was bounded by the Nueces; and Benton pronounced the Texan claim, from the mouth to the source of the Rio Grande, "a robbery of Mexico." It was an extravagant claim, and Mexico would not listen

to it. Our resolution annexing Texas left it open for negotiation. But Polk held that what we had annexed as Texas was what Texas claimed to be, and he proceeded on that policy.

404. President Polk brought on the War. — There were other differences between the two countries. Polk had designs on California, which, for the sake of a commercial port on the Pacific, he wished to obtain, by purchase if possible, by revolt if necessary. He attempted to renew negotiations, and he sent Mr. Slidell to Mexico to discuss this and the matters in dispute; but Mexico refused to receive Slidell, and President Polk thus had a ground for claiming that he had tried to keep the peace. Mexico had been very slow in paying claims for damages to American citizens. But in spite of these matters war might have been avoided but for the Texan territorial claim. Polk, acting on this claim, assumed authority over the disputed territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. When Mexico refused to receive our envoy, and, as Polk claimed, threatened Texas with a new Mexican invasion, the President ordered General Taylor with about four thousand men to advance from Corpus Christi on the Nueces to the Rio Grande, to “protect the Texan frontier.” The Mexicans attacked a scouting party of this small army in the disputed territory, and when Taylor’s dispatch announcing this reached Washington, Polk sent a special message to Congress (May 12, 1846), in which he said that “Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil, and war exists, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it,



JAMES K. POLK.

Mr. Polk was born in North Carolina in 1795. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina, was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and governor of Tennessee. He served one term as President, and died in 1849.

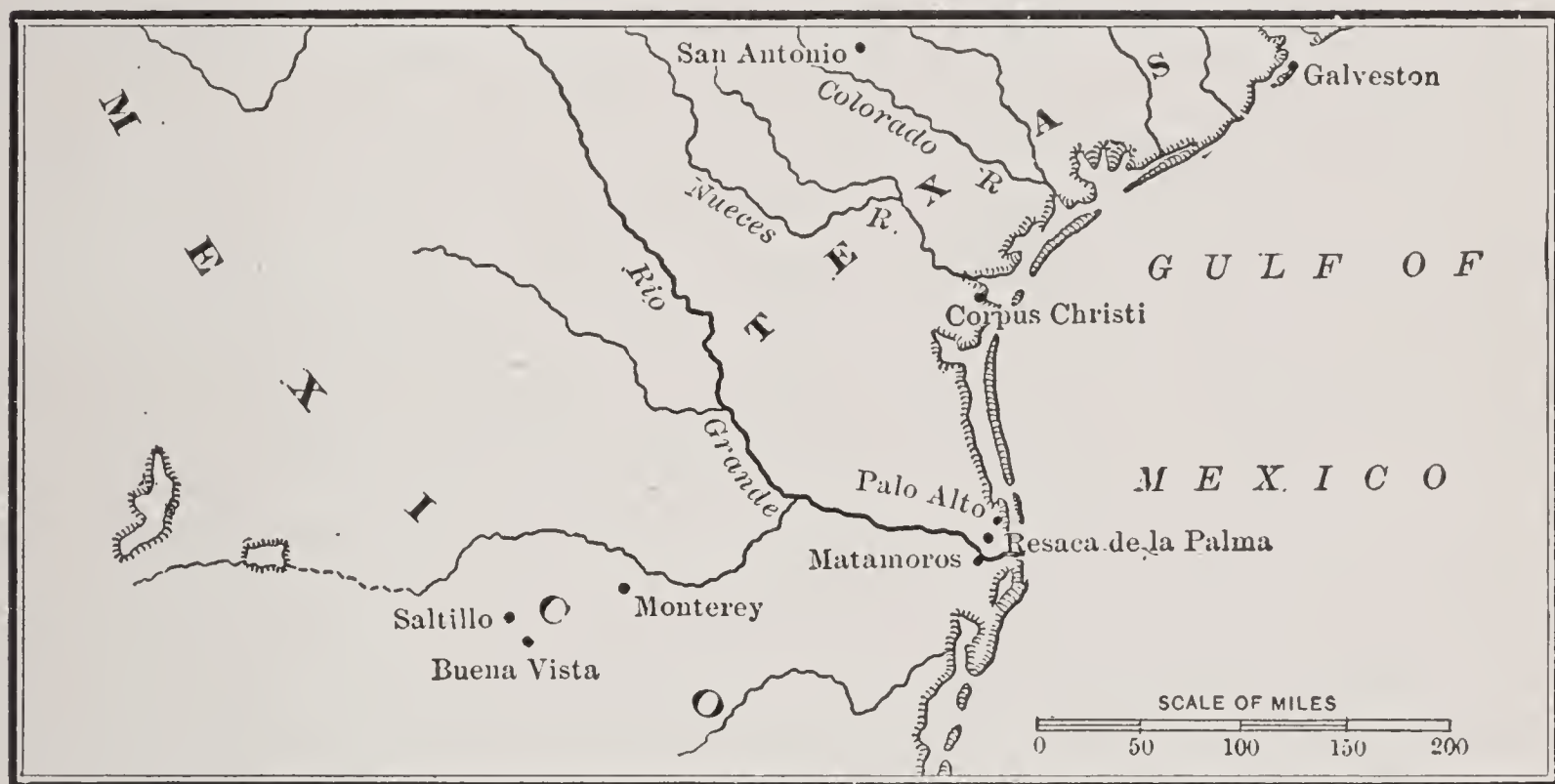
by the act of Mexico herself." Congress adopted this view without inquiring into its truth, and declaring that "war exists by the act of the republic of Mexico," voted money for supplies and provided for fifty thousand volunteers. Calhoun in the South and the Whigs in the North, especially the New Englanders and the antislavery men, strongly opposed the war, and denounced Polk's order and his aggressive policy that brought it on.

405. Americans were criticised for the Mexican War. — Thus, we see, our war with Mexico over Texas began the same year (1846) that the long dispute with Great Britain over Oregon came peacefully to an end. It is often asserted that our government was ready to come to a compromise agreement with Great Britain, a strong nation, while it drew the sword and asserted by violence and aggression the whole of its claim against Mexico, a weak nation. It is said that we backed down in fear of the strong and acted the part of the wolf against the lamb toward weaker Mexico, coveting our neighbor's territory. Polk and his party were accused of forcing the war with Mexico in order to conquer California and New Mexico, which they could not get by diplomacy.

While we think our government was to blame for not avoiding war with Mexico, the insinuation against it of injustice and cowardice is not altogether justified. Whether President Polk was right or wrong in giving the order which brought on the Mexican War hinges altogether on the ownership of the strip between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. At best our claim was a very doubtful one, and there could be no glory or honor in a war for such a claim. But Polk's view was that this strip belonged to the United States and that he was only defending American territory, as he was in duty and honor bound to do. On the other hand, if the Mexican claim to this strip were valid, Polk exceeded his constitutional authority and he began a wrongful and an offensive war without the consent of Congress. It was just such a dispute as should have been settled by arbitration and

Was our
govern-
ment to
blame for
the Mexi-
can War?

treaty, and our country would now wish to settle such a dispute peacefully in that way. But Polk was not entirely responsible, because Congress had already recognized the country beyond the Nueces as American territory by including it within the revenue system and the Senate had ratified the appointment of a revenue officer. So Congress could hardly do less than support the President.



TAYLOR'S CAMPAIGNS.

406. General Taylor wins Victories. — The Mexican War was soon ended. It lasted less than two years, from May, 1846, to February, 1848, and it was an unbroken series of victories for the Americans. Our armies under able commanders, Scott and Taylor, showed courage and good fighting qualities, though not much honor or glory could be derived in fighting for such a cause.

General Taylor beat the Mexicans at Palo Alto (May 8, 1846), and the next day again at Resaca de la Palma. He then crossed the Rio Grande and took possession of Matamoros. Here he rested, awaiting reënforcements, till August, then pushed westward into Mexico, attacking the fortified town of Monterey. The Americans stormed the walls of Monterey, and the Mexicans fell back to the houses, which they used as little forts. For three days a desperate fight was carried on from

street to street before the town was surrendered (September 24, 1846). After a six weeks' armistice for an attempt at negotiation, Taylor moved on to Saltillo and then to Buena Vista. Here he was called on to send ten thousand of his men to General Scott, who had been sent to Mexico in chief command to carry out another plan of invasion. Taylor was left with only five thousand men.

Santa Anna, knowing Taylor's weakened condition, thought to overwhelm him with an army of twenty thousand men and undo all that Taylor had done. He told Taylor he must surrender or be cut to pieces. Taylor chose his ground and against great odds totally defeated Santa Anna in the decisive battle of Buena Vista, February 23, 1846, and the American possession of northeastern Mexico was secure. Taylor complained that politics at Washington was interfering with his plans, and leaving General Wool in command he returned to Louisiana. The "Hero of Buena Vista," or "Old Rough and Ready," as Taylor was called by his soldiers, was beginning to be thought of by the Whigs as a good candidate to beat the Democrats in the next Presidential election.

407. Scott captures the City of Mexico, September 14, 1847. — After capturing Vera Cruz (March, 1847), General Scott began a march of two hundred miles for the Mexican capital over the route that Cortez had taken more than three hundred years before. He stormed Cerro Gordo (April 18, 1847), reached Puebla, May 15, where he stayed till August 7 awaiting peace negotiations, when he again pushed forward and, by August 10, came within view of the City of Mexico. Then followed the victories of Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and finally the storming of Chapultepec, and then Scott marched his triumphant army into the City of Mexico, September 14, 1847.

408. Conquest of California and New Mexico. — While the victories of Scott and Taylor were in progress, General Kearney (June, 1846) marched from the Missouri by the Santa Fé trail and conquered Santa Fé and New Mexico. Leaving an American civil governor at Santa Fé, Kearney then proceeded

westward to take possession of California. But that country had already been conquered by General John C. Fremont and Commodores Sloat and Stockton and three or four hundred American settlers. The vast regions westward from Texas to the Pacific Ocean were now in the possession of the Americans.

The Mexicans, with their armies helpless, their government broken up, their capital in the hands of the enemy, were compelled to submit. There were some in Congress and in the Cabinet who wished to take possession of all of Mexico, but Polk said he was not prepared to go to that extent. He said he "had been falsely charged with bringing on the war for the conquest of Mexico," but that that was not his purpose.

The Mexi-
cans give
up the
fight.

409. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. — On February 2, 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. Mr. Trist was the American commissioner of President Polk. It was agreed that the United States should pay fifteen million dollars to Mexico and three million dollars more to American citizens who had claims against Mexico. Mexico gave up to the United States all territory north of the Rio Grande and Gila rivers, comprising all that Texas claimed to be, and New Mexico, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. The war had cost about one hundred million dollars and thirteen thousand lives.¹

FACTS AND DATES

1845. Annexation of Texas to the United States.

1845-1849. Polk's Administration.

1846-1848. Mexican War.

1846 (May 13). War with Mexico declared to exist.

1846. Oregon Treaty with Great Britain.

1846. The Sewing Machine invented.

1847 (Sept. 14). City of Mexico taken by Americans.

1848 (Feb. 2). Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

¹ In 1853 the Gadsden Purchase added the strip south of the Gila River. The area of this was forty-five thousand square miles, and the price ten million dollars.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE COMPROMISES OF 1850

410. The Slavery Question soon comes to the Front in the Mexican War. — The Mexican War had hardly begun before the slavery question came to the front. President Polk asked for money to buy territory from Mexico when the time should come to make a treaty. Bills were offered in Congress for this purpose, in August, 1846, and in January, 1847. The last was the "Three Million Bill." David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, offered an amendment to these bills, providing that slavery should not exist in any territory to be obtained from Mexico.

This was the famous Wilmot Proviso. It came to be used as a general term for opposition to the extension of slavery. Its principle was the prohibition of slavery in the territories by the national government. This afterward became the underlying principle of the Republican party and the issue on which Abraham Lincoln was elected to the Presidency. All those who believed in the Wilmot Proviso were against slavery extension, and they believed that this extension ought to be prevented by the nation. The proviso passed the House but was defeated in the Senate. It then became the chief subject of political discussion in the country for the next four years (1846–1850).

The South threatens to secede on account of the Wilmot Proviso. This proposal to keep slavery out of the new territories offended the South. The Virginia legislature said it was "an outrage that ought to be resisted at all hazards." Many Southern men said it would lead to disunion, and they threatened to secede if it were adopted. On the other hand, many Northern legislatures spoke out in favor of it.

411. The Election of 1848. — Slavery in the territories became the principal subject of discussion in the campaign and election of 1848. In that year the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan for President and William O. Butler of Kentucky for Vice President. The party was divided on the slavery question. Northern antislavery Democrats wished the party to adopt the Wilmot Proviso as one of its principles; Southern Democrats opposed this, and the party platform avoided the question altogether. However, the party candidate for President, General Cass, wrote a letter in which he spoke against the Wilmot Proviso and favored the principle of “popular sovereignty.” This would leave the settlers in the territories to say for themselves whether they would have slavery. This did not satisfy the antislavery Democrats, and many of them, called “Barnburners,” — because they were like the Dutch farmer who burned his barn to get rid of the rats — were ready to destroy their party to get rid of slavery.

Cass favors popular sovereignty.

“Barnburners.”

The Whigs were also divided. They nominated General Taylor, the “Hero of Buena Vista,” for President and Millard Fillmore of New York, for Vice President. Taylor was a slaveholder, and it was not certain that he was a Whig. The Whigs refused to adopt the Wilmot Proviso as one of their principles. The Southern Whigs were opposed to it, while the great body of the Northern Whigs were very much in favor of it. So the party was afraid to adopt any platform at all. The radical antislavery men, called the “Conscience Whigs,” were dissatisfied with this, and they bolted from the party and united with the “Barnburner Democrats” in a new party. This was the “Free Soil party.” This new party held a national convention at Buffalo in August, 1848, and nominated Martin Van Buren of New York for President and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts, son of John Quincy Adams, for Vice President. The Free Soilers did not propose to disturb slavery in the states where it existed; but they would consent

Whigs and Democrats are divided on slavery.

The Free Soilers speak out against slavery.

to no more concessions or compromises, and they insisted that Congress should prevent the extension of slavery into the territories and that the national government must free itself from all responsibility for slavery wherever it had the power. "We inscribe upon our banner," they said, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it we will fight on and fight ever until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions."

The old "Liberty Party" had nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire for President, but he now withdrew, and he and his followers supported Van Buren and Adams. The Free Soilers polled two hundred and ninety-two thousand votes in this election. More than one third of these (one hundred and twenty thousand) were in New York, where so many Democrats followed Van Buren that General Taylor was able to carry that state and win the election. The South stood by Taylor and most of the antislavery Whigs of the North who believed in the principle of the Wilmot Proviso voted for him too, in the hope that the Whig party would still become an antislavery party.

412. The Conquest of California and Gold Discovery bring up a New Question. — Gold was discovered on the Sacramento River (January 19, 1848) a few days before peace was declared with Mexico. This was an event of the greatest importance. It meant more wealth, more money, rising prices, great demand for labor, and prosperous times. Excitement arose, and the "gold fever" raged among all classes of people. Ordinary occupations were abandoned in California. Farmers, clerks, carpenters, masons, mill hands, rushed to the "diggings" to get rich quick by finding gold. Even soldiers and sailors deserted their posts, and ships were abandoned by their crews before their cargoes were unloaded. From all parts of the world the gold seekers, "the forty-niners," came flocking to the gold fields, over the plains, across the isthmus, around the Horn. In an incredibly short time, — by the summer of 1849, — California contained nearly one hundred thousand people, and San Francisco had sprung from a little hamlet to be a city of twenty thousand. These "forty-niners" were mostly Americans, but there were all sorts

and conditions of men among them from all over the world. For a while their only government was that of vigilance committees and lynch law. But it did not take the people long to organize themselves in an orderly way into a state. In September, 1849, under the guidance of General Riley, the military governor, a convention of delegates met, formed a state constitution excluding slavery, and before the new year (1850) they were applying for admission into the Union.



A TRAIN OF "PRAIRIE SCHOONERS."

Before the railroad was built, and even after its introduction, many settlers were carried into the western country in these wagons. For protection against the Indians the emigrants usually travelled in large parties.

This irritated the South. They saw that the admission of California as a free state would break the balance of power in the Senate. Iowa's admission in 1846 had offset that of Texas in 1845, and Wisconsin in 1847 had balanced Florida (1845). There was no other slave state ready to come in and there was no prospect of any. The Southerners contended that California was not ready for statehood; that it

The equilibrium again.

should be organized into a territory in the usual way, and when Congress thought California was ready for statehood its people could then decide about slavery. The antislavery men, of course, wanted to admit California immediately as a free state.

413. Questions in Dispute. — There were now several subjects of dispute between the North and the South : 1. The admission of California. 2. Slavery in the Mexican cessions. 3. Slavery in the District of Columbia. (The Abolitionists were still urging Congress to abolish slavery in the capital.) 4. The return of fugitive slaves. The Southerners were complaining that owing to the work of the Abolitionists and the “personal liberty laws” of the Northern states, they could not recover their runaway slaves. 5. The interstate slave trade. 6. The boundary of Texas. Texas claimed a large part of New Mexico, and the question was whether the United States would recognize this claim.

The most difficult of these questions was slavery in the territories. This question kept coming up in American politics for more than a generation. It had been settled by compromise in 1820 for all the territory the United States then owned. The Mexican War had added eight hundred thousand square miles of new territory to the national domain. The Wilmot Proviso proposed to exclude slavery from all this territory. Some said the Missouri line, $36^{\circ} 30'$, ought to be extended to the Pacific, preventing slavery north of that line, permitting it south of that line. President Polk favored this plan. This would have divided the territory and would probably have satisfied the majority in the South.

The more aggressive Southern men, led by Calhoun, said that slavery should be protected in all the territories by national power. They said the territories were the property, not of the nation as a whole, but of the states united in a partnership. It would be unjust and unequal to allow a portion of the partners (the states) outnumbering another portion to put them out from this common property. The citizen

Ways proposed for settling the question of slavery in the territories.

The Southern view.

of Alabama should be allowed to emigrate to the territories with his property (slaves) and be protected there just the same as the citizen of Ohio with *his* property, horses and cattle. Therefore, whatever any state recognized as property must be protected by the national government as property in the territories. This is what Calhoun called equal rights in the territories. Unless this were gained the advocates of slavery claimed that the South would be excluded from the common territory which had been won by the blood and treasure of all. Webster reminded them that Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had been settled chiefly by Southern people who had come into these new states and territories with the same rights as the people had who came from other states; the only difference was they could not bring their local law with them, which allowed them to hold slaves. But the radical Southern leaders now insisted that laws protecting slavery should be adopted and enforced in the territories by the whole nation. They wanted slaves to be recognized and protected as property by national law.

The antislavery men of the North objected to this, and said that slavery should be excluded from the territories by national law. They wanted the Wilmot Proviso adopted. They said that slaves were not property, except by the local laws of the slave states; that outside of those states the common, national laws regarded the slaves as *persons*, not as *property*; and that the nation should stand for freedom wherever it had control. They asserted that it was the right and duty of Congress to prevent the spread of slavery, and to see to it that there should be no more slave territories and no more slave states.

The anti-slavery view.

Others favored a middle ground, a compromise. They said Congress should have nothing to do with slavery in the territories, should neither protect it nor exclude it, but leave the people of the territories to settle the matter for themselves.

414. Taylor becomes President. — Such was the situation in the fall of 1849, the year General Taylor was inaugurated as President. Taylor was a plain, straightforward, honest Southern

man. He was a soldier, not a politician, and though a slaveholder he was not a slavery extensionist. He was pleased to see

Taylor's plan for the Territories. California ready for statehood, and he favored the same plan for the other territories. He said Congress should leave the matter of slavery alone, and the people of the territories should form state governments under the direction of the military governor, and apply for admission to the Union. This would have brought them in as free states, but Taylor was ready for that, as he did not wish to impose slavery where it was not wanted.



GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR.

"Old Rough and Ready," the "Hero of Buena Vista," twelfth President of the United States, was born in Virginia Sept. 24, 1784; died July 9, 1850. He became a lieutenant in the army in 1808; fought in the War of 1812, in the Black Hawk War, 1832, in the Seminole War, 1835-1836; was nominated and elected to the Presidency by the Whigs in 1848. He was an honest, straightforward man, without much education and with no political training. He was a patriot rather than a partisan. He said that if he were elected President he "would not be the President of a party, but the President of the whole people."

mission to the Union. This would have brought them in as free states, but Taylor was ready for that, as he did not wish to impose slavery where it was not wanted.

415. Clay, "the Great Pacificator," proposes a Plan of Settlement.

— Henry Clay now came forward with a plan of compromise. He believed the Union was in danger and that the Union was essential to the happiness and safety of the people. He wished to secure permanent peace between the two sections, and he called upon the North and the South to be patient with one another and each to yield a portion of its claims. As a basis of agreement he proposed:—

1. To admit California as a free state.
2. To organize the other territories acquired from Mexico without the Wilmot Proviso.
3. To pass a stronger fugitive slave law.
4. To pay Texas for her claim to New Mexico.
5. To abolish the slave trade (not slavery) in the District of Columbia.

6. To declare that Congress had no power to interfere with the interstate slave trade.

7. To declare that it was not expedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

Clay made an earnest appeal for peace and compromise, for "keeping the Union together in one family in harmony and concord," that the "gaping wounds of the country might be healed." He spoke many times urging the adoption of this compromise.

416. Calhoun speaks for the South. — Calhoun spoke for the slaveholders of the South. The shadow of death now rested on this great man. He was too weak to walk alone to the Senate chamber, and he had to sit in his chair while his speech was read for him by Senator Mason of Virginia. He listened in silence to his own last warning to the North, his last appeal for what he considered justice to his beloved South. He demanded that the North should concede to the South "equal rights" in the territories, return the fugitive slaves, and cease entirely and forever to agitate the slavery question. He said the crisis had been brought about by destroying the equilibrium between the sections, and to save the Union it was necessary to restore the equilibrium. Calhoun wished sincerely to save the Union, but he looked upon the Union as a union of sections, a Southern section and a Northern section, the one slave, the other free. He saw that the South had ceased to be equal to the North in population and wealth, but he wished it forever to remain equal in political power. He insisted on this "political equality" of the South as one of the conditions of the Union. If this were not secured he saw the time would soon come when the South would have to choose between the Union and slavery, and he advised the South to stand by slavery.

417. Webster speaks for Compromise. — Webster followed Calhoun in his famous "Seventh of March Speech." He spoke for the Union, but he did not say much against slavery. He blamed the Abolitionists of the North more than the slaveholders of the South for the sectional strife of the country. He said

the South had more to complain of than the North, and that the Abolitionists had done nothing but harm. Webster had always been opposed to the extension of slavery, but now he was willing to give up the Wilmot Proviso. He said he would not needlessly "reënact a law of God." He meant that slavery would be excluded from New Mexico and Arizona by a law of nature, of physical geography; to insist on the Wilmot Proviso could accomplish no good and would only irritate and "wound the pride" of the South.

Webster's speech greatly disappointed his antislavery friends. Whittier, in his poem "Ichabod," which he applied to Webster, wrote: —

"Of all we loved and honored naught
Save power remains ;
All else is gone ; from those great eyes
The soul has fled.
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead."

But it may be said for Webster that he felt the duty of the hour was to save the Union, not to oppose slavery. His great influence helped to secure the compromise, and it has been said that this speech postponed the war for a decade, until the forces of the Union were strong enough for its preservation.

418. Seward speaks for the Antislavery Cause. — It was Seward who spoke for the antislavery spirit of the North. He spoke against further concessions and compromises with slavery. He opposed the Fugitive Slave Law and favored emancipation in the District of Columbia. He said: "The Constitution devotes the public domain to union, justice, and liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution which devotes it to the same noble purpose." The advocates of slavery condemned this "higher law" doctrine as if Seward had said that the Constitution ought to be violated. He meant only that the law of God and reason, as well as the Constitution, condemned slavery.

419. The Compromise Measures are passed. — Attempt was made to pass several of Clay's proposals in one bill, called the

“Omnibus Bill.” This failed, but the measures went through one by one. The compromise, as finally agreed, brought about the following results: —

1. California was admitted as a free state.
2. New Mexico and Utah were organized without the Wilmot Proviso.
3. Texas was paid ten million dollars for her claim to New Mexico.
4. A new fugitive slave law was passed.
5. The slave trade, but not slavery, was abolished in the District of Columbia.

Nothing was done in regard to the interstate slave trade.

420. The Country accepts the Compromise. — The Abolitionists at the North and the slavery expansionists at the South were dissatisfied, but the great majority of the country were well pleased with the compromise. The people wanted peace on the subject of slavery. All the forces controlling public opinion — the press, political parties, public men, and even the pulpit — seemed determined that this compromise should be a final settlement, that there should be no more agitation on the subject of slavery.

421. The Election of 1852. — In 1852 both political parties resolved in favor of the compromise measures including the Fugitive Slave Law. The Democrats were reunited and half of the Free Soil voters went back to their old parties. The Democratic candidates were Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire and William R. King of Alabama. The Whigs nominated General Winfield S. Scott



MILLARD FILLMORE.

Millard Fillmore, a self-made man, was born in New York in 1800, and died in the same state in 1874. He had a hard struggle to obtain his legal education, but while still a young man became one of the leading lawyers of his state. He had held many high offices before succeeding to the Presidency on Taylor's death.

of Virginia and William A. Graham of North Carolina. The Free Soilers, who still wished to keep up the fight on slavery, nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julian of Indiana. Pierce was elected. Scott carried only four states, the "rock-ribbed" Whig states, — Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The Whigs were so badly beaten that they never amounted to anything again as a party, and some one said that the party "died of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law."

422. The Fugitive Slave Law is opposed in the North. — It was this Fugitive Slave Law that continued to disturb the peace on the subject of slavery. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was an odious law. A negro seized under this law could not have a trial by jury; he could not testify in his own behalf. A commissioner appointed to try him was allowed ten dollars if the negro were proved a slave, but only five dollars if he turned out to be a freeman. United States marshals and deputies were appointed to execute the act, and any bystander might be called upon to assist. Harboring or rescuing a fugitive or preventing his arrest was punishable by a fine of one thousand dollars and damages to the same amount, or imprisonment for six months.

Public sentiment at the North was against such a law. The majority were willing to have it enforced, because it was the law and because the South claimed the return of these escaping slaves as a constitutional right. But the Northern people did not like the law. The capture of slaves fleeing from bondage was constantly reminding the people of the North of some of the most hateful and barbarous aspects of slavery. The recovery of a slave often cost as much as he was worth. It would have been better for the South if they had submitted to the escape of a few of their smarter slaves, who were determined to get out of bondage, rather than arouse renewed attacks upon the whole system of slavery.

The radical antislavery men were determined that, law or no law, the fugitive slave should not be returned. They resisted

the law in every way they could. "Personal liberty bills," which had been passed by many Northern states as early as 1840, to prevent free negroes from being kidnaped and carried into slavery, were now strengthened in such a way as to obstruct the Fugitive Slave Act. Abolition friends of the fugitives helped them on their way. They fed the escaping slaves, hid them, and carried them on their road toward Canada. These routes became known as the "underground railroad."

"Personal
liberty
bills."

423. Mrs. Stowe stirs the Country by the Story of Uncle Tom.—It was chiefly the Fugitive Slave Law that led Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe to write "Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly"—a story setting forth the evils of slavery (1852). This story told of the slave Eliza escaping with her baby boy across the river on the floating ice; of "Old Uncle Tom" sold for debt by a kind master in Kentucky; of his easy life with little Eva St. Clair in New Orleans; of St. Clair's unexpected death and of Tom's being sold up the Red River and being whipped to death by the cruel and savage Legree. The story came out week by week in an antislavery newspaper, *The National Era*, and afterwards as a book. Thousands of people read it. The purpose of Mrs. Stowe was to reveal the actual and possible evils of the slave system, and to arouse opposition to it. The book made thousands of Abolitionists, and no historical novel ever had a greater influence.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1848. Gold discovered in California.
- 1848. Free Soil Party Organized.
- 1849-1853. Taylor and Fillmore's Administration.
- 1850. Clay's Compromise Measures Passed.
- 1850. Fugitive Slave Law Passed.

CHAPTER XXX

THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR KANSAS

424. Pierce becomes President and promises the Country Peace on the Subject of Slavery. — On March 4, 1853, Franklin Pierce became President. He said he would do all he could to keep



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Born in New Hampshire in 1804, and died in the same state in 1869. He was a lawyer and a graduate of Bowdoin College. He was a United States senator and had served in the Mexican War before becoming President. He was in sympathy with the South during the Civil War.

Nebraska Bill," providing a government for the Nebraska country. He also submitted a long report explaining the measure. The bill divided the country into two territories, Kansas on the south, Nebraska on the north. It was supposed that Kansas

peace on the slavery question and that the compromises should not be disturbed or the agitation re-

The agitation is renewed by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

newed during his administration, if he could prevent it. Yet his administration was not a year old before the country was thrown into the greatest excitement over slavery by an agitation not to be allayed until the question was settled by civil war. This was caused by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854, which repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

425. Douglas proposes the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. — In January, 1854, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois proposed the "Kansas-

would come into the Union as a slave state and Nebraska as a free state, and thus each section be treated fairly.

Douglas maintained that the Compromise of 1850 had “superseded” the Compromise of 1820; that the “old, exploded doctrine” of Congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories had given way to the new principle of non-intervention by Congress, the principle of “popular sovereignty,” of leaving the people of the territories to settle the question of slavery for themselves. As Congress in 1850 deemed it wise to refrain from settling the dispute over slavery in the territories by adopting the great compromise principle which had been so happily and universally accepted by the country, so now, Douglas said, he would adopt the same principle. He took the ground that in 1850, when Congress refused to apply the Wilmot Proviso in organizing New Mexico and Utah but left the question of slavery in those territories to the people there, Congress was laying down a general principle for the organization of all future territories, and in doing this it virtually repealed the Missouri Compromise.

Douglas explains how the Act of 1850 superseded the Act of 1820.

Douglas’s Kansas-Nebraska Act, in harmony with this doctrine, now enacted this repeal into law. Douglas said in his bill that “the Act of 1820, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the territories as recognized in the Compromise of 1850, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.”

426. What Motive prompted Douglas? — It is not known what moved Douglas to take this course. Perhaps he wished to be President, and therefore took this means of gaining the favor of the South. It may be he sincerely believed that his measure would keep down slavery agitation. If he believed this he was woefully mistaken, for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill produced the

greatest political agitation the country had ever known. His act and doctrine were amazing to the people of the North. It was a startling surprise even to the men who had taken part in the debates of 1850. Not one of them had ever said or heard anything of the kind. They supposed that in 1850 they were legislating only for the Mexican cessions. They never dreamed they were adopting a measure which opened up the rest of the Louisiana territory to slavery, from which it had been excluded more than thirty years before.

This seemed like a most unjustifiable attack on the part of slavery. It seemed that slavery could not be satisfied where it was, merely to be let alone, but that it was determined to have more territory and more power. Since 1850 there had been movements for the acquisition of Cuba or of more territory in Mexico or Central America, to increase the slave power. In this very year (1854) the "Ostend Manifesto" was issued. The American ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain (Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé) met together at Ostend in Belgium, to discuss the question of Cuba. They issued a manifesto declaring that the United States should offer Spain one hundred million dollars for Cuba, but if Spain would not sell, then we should "wrest it from her" by force. This was the diplomacy of the bully in the interest of slavery, a kind of highwayman's plea that might makes right. These things aroused the people of the North to the feeling that they must unite to resist these aggressions of slavery.

427. Appeal of the Independent Democrats. — The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was not passed without great opposition. The debate was long and bitter. The first call to resistance came in the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats." This was written by Chase and signed by a few antislavery members of Congress. The appeal accused Douglas of bad faith. "If this bill shall become a law," it said, "the blight of slavery will cover the land and a fair region consecrated to freedom by a solemn compact will be given over to masters and slaves." Sumner, Seward,

Chase, and Wade made powerful speeches against the Kansas-Nebraska Act, accusing the South of violating its pledges made in 1820. In spite of antislavery opposition, however, the bill became a law in May, 1854.

428. Results of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. — Judged by its consequences, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was one of the most momentous legislative acts in American history. Its results were as follows:—

1. It opened up again the whole question of slavery in the territories. It arrayed the two sections against one another for the final struggle. Sumner said it “set freedom and slavery face to face and bade them grapple.” People saw that there could be no more compromises with slavery. It had to be settled whether freedom or slavery should control the national policy in the territories.

2. It caused the dissolution of the Whig party. The great leaders of the Whigs, Clay and Webster, had passed away. Both died in 1852. Some “old line Whigs,” who had no interest in the slavery question, still clung to the party, but the great body of the party in the North were antislavery men; they were opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and were ready to organize a new party to resist the extension of slavery. Many of the Southern Whigs went with the Democrats in favor of slavery. Others joined the “Know-Nothings,” or Americans (§ 433), or were afterward Constitutional Union men, following Bell of Tennessee.

3. It caused the division of the Democratic party in the North. Many Northern Democrats had voted in Congress against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. These joined with the antislavery Whigs, and together they were called the “Anti-Nebraska men.” They began to organize, and in the Congressional elections of 1854 a majority of the newly elected Congressmen were against the Democrats. Nearly every Northern man who had voted for Douglas’s bill was defeated.

4. It led to the organization of the Republican party. This new party was the direct outcome of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The party was made up of three elements: (1) The antislavery Whigs, (2) the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, (3) The Free Soilers. These classes now all united in a common cause on a common principle: *No further extension of slavery.*

4. The new Republican party is organized.

5. As an immediate result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, a struggle began between the free-state men and the slave-state men for the control of Kansas. The race for the territory began as soon as the bill became a law. This soon led to civil war in the territory. Whether Kansas became a slave or a free state was now to depend upon its first settlers. Slave Missouri was near at hand. Some rough characters from her frontier, called "border ruffians," hurried to Kansas. They were the first "squatters" on the land. They staked their land claims, returned home to Missouri, and called on Southern men to come to Kansas. A number responded and founded a town on the Missouri River, which they called Atchison, after Senator Atchison of Missouri, the man who was directing the proslavery forces. The North could send more men into the territory than the South. It was richer and more populous. It had more European immigrants and young men who were "foot loose" and ready to venture West to improve their condition. The slaveholder went into Kansas at greater risk. He might lose his slaves. They might not be adapted to the soil and climate. It was certain that if a fair majority in Kansas were to determine the contest the free states would win.

5. Slave states and free states begin the struggle for Kansas.

The "border ruffians" invade Kansas.

429. The New England Emigrant Aid Society is organized.—The New England Emigrant Aid Society was organized by two wealthy men of Massachusetts, Eli Thayer and Amos Lawrence, for the purpose of making Kansas a free state by aiding antislavery men to go out there. The settlers sent by this society founded the town of Lawrence. The proslavery leaders in

Missouri did not like the work of this society. They thought it was not a fair way to compete for the territory; that every man ought to be left free to go to Kansas or not as he chose. They accordingly began to arouse the "border ruffians," the jayhawkers and bushwhackers of the frontier, to meet the society's emigrants with violence.

430. The "Border Ruffians" elect a Legislature. — In November, 1854, a territorial delegate was elected to Congress from Kansas. In this election the proslavery party was successful, by the aid of nearly two thousand Missouri invaders. A more important election was that of the territorial legislature in March, 1855. The legislature would determine whether Kansas would be slave or free. The border counties of Missouri took part in this election also. In these Missouri counties meetings were held for a month before election day; secret societies called "Blue Lodges" were formed; and on the election day armed bands of Missourians marched into Kansas and elected a proslavery legislature. Only one free-state man was chosen, but there were three or four times as many votes cast as there were legal voters in the territory. This legislature adopted the slave laws of Missouri and declared Kansas a slave territory. To deny the right to hold slaves in Kansas was made a crime.

431. The Free-state Men refuse to submit to the Proslavery Legislature. — The free-state men would not submit to this legislature. Under their leader, Dr. Charles Robinson, who had helped to make California free, they held a convention at Topeka, adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery and submitted it to the people. The free-state voters ratified it, and a governor and a legislature were elected. So by the beginning of 1856 there were two rival governments in Kansas. Armed conflicts occurred between the two forces. The free-state men received a shipment of Sharpe's rifles, called "Beecher's Bibles," because Rev. Henry Ward Beecher had said that those were the "Bible arguments" needed against slavery in Kansas. They proposed to stand their ground against what they considered a sham territorial legislature.

The "border ruffians" from Missouri called in a proslavery sheriff to "enforce the law," and burned and sacked the free-state town of Lawrence. This was wanton and unjustifiable pillage. In retaliation, "Old John Brown of Osawatomie," breathing out vengeance and slaughter, with a small band of free-state men, deliberately dragged from their cabins and murdered five men of the other party. So both parties were made to appear equally guilty of violence and crime.

President Pierce and the territorial governor recognized the slave-state government as legal, but the free-state government had a majority of the Kansas people behind it. The free-state legislature was dispersed by Colonel Sumner (July 4, 1856). In March this legislature had met, elected two United States senators, and asked Congress for admission to the Union under the Topeka Constitution. Thus the whole subject of slavery in the light of "Bleeding Kansas" was again before Congress and the country.

432. Sumner is struck down in the Senate. — The whole country was now in a fever of excitement over affairs in Kansas. Senator Sumner of Massachusetts made a powerful speech on Kansas in the Senate. He denounced slavery and its advocates. In coarse and vulgar language he assailed Senator Butler of South Carolina, and after the Senate adjourned, and while Sumner was seated at his desk, he was brutally assaulted by Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, a nephew of Butler. Brooks beat Sumner on the head with a heavy cane, knocking him senseless to the floor. Sumner was disabled for three years from service in the Senate.

Northern Congressmen publicly denounced Brooks, and Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, and Anson Burlingame, a representative from that state, were challenged by Southern men to fight duels for their words in Congress. Senator Wade of Ohio, with a brace of revolvers on his desk, said he knew of no better cause in which a man could die than by standing for freedom of speech and debate on the floor of the Senate. He said that he proposed to speak out his mind on slavery and not be cowed by

the duels and bludgeons of the bullies and "fire eaters" of the South. A majority voted to expel Brooks from the House. He resigned, and returned to South Carolina, where he received great ovations; he was presented with many canes, and was almost unanimously reëlected to Congress. Such was the sectional bitterness and hatred aroused by the civil war in Kansas, and by the renewed discussion in Congress over slavery.

433. The Campaign and Election of 1856.—In the midst of this excitement the Presidential election of 1856 was coming on. The new Republican party was formally organized at Pittsburg, February 22, 1856. The party's name and principles had

been announced at a mass meeting held under the oaks at Jackson, Michigan, in July, 1854. It held its first national nominating convention at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856. General John C. Fremont, the

Origin of
the Repub-
lican party,
1854-1856.

"Pathfinder," was nominated for President and William L. Dayton of New Jersey for Vice President. This party proposed no interference with slavery where it existed, but it resolved that Congress should prohibit in the territories "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery," and it demanded that Kansas should be immediately admitted with her free constitution.

During the break-up of parties in 1854 the "Know-nothing" party became strong. The men who organized this party

sought to cultivate the spirit of "native Americanism." They said that the foreigners, German and Irish, who had been lately coming to America in

The
"Know-
nothings."

great numbers, were too much under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, and that that church was seeking political power and ought to be opposed; that "Americans should rule America"; that foreigners should be compelled to live in America twenty-one years before being allowed to vote; and that they should not be allowed to hold office at all. The "Know-nothings" organized themselves together in secret lodges and bound themselves by oaths not to reveal the proceedings nor to vote for any but native Americans. The members

always claimed to *know nothing* about what the party meetings had been doing, hence the name. It was a foolish if not a dangerous party, and it could not last. Horace Greeley said people might as well organize an anti-cholera or an anti-potato-rot party. But the "Know-nothings" carried some states and elected some Congressmen in 1854. Many good men — Whigs and Free Soilers — went into this party as the best means of opposing the Democratic party, which was now charged with being under the influence of slaveholders and foreigners.

In 1856 the "Know-nothings" and the "Silver Gray," or "Old Line," Whigs, who had not gone to one of the other parties, entered the field under the name of "Americans." They nominated ex-President Fillmore for President and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee for Vice President. They polled 874,000 votes, but carried only one state, Maryland.

The Democrats nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania for President and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for Vice President. Buchanan had been out of the country, as minister to England, during the previous four years of strife. He was now sure to win a solid South, because the Republicans could not hope to carry a single slave state. Buchanan also appealed to the national Union sentiment in the North; he attacked the Republicans as a "sectional party," arraying one part of the Union against another part, and he reminded the people of Washington's warning against forming parties on geographical lines.

The Republicans are denounced as a sectional party.

The "Americans" also blamed the Republicans for sectionalism. Fillmore said: "We see a political party presenting candidates selected for the first time from the free states alone, with the avowed purpose of electing them by one part of the Union to rule over the whole United States."

Southerners said the election of Fremont would be the end of the Union. This feeling resulted in Buchanan's election, though the young Republicans made a very spirited canvass and polled 1,300,000 votes, and had 114 votes in the electoral college.

Buchanan's popular vote was 1,800,000 and his electoral vote was 174. In all the South Fremont received only a little over 1000 votes.

FACTS AND DATES

1853-1857. Pierce's Administration.

1854. Kansas-Nebraska Act: Repeal of Missouri Compromise.

1854. Struggle for Kansas Began.

1854. The Ostend Manifesto.

1854-1856. Origin of the Republican Party.

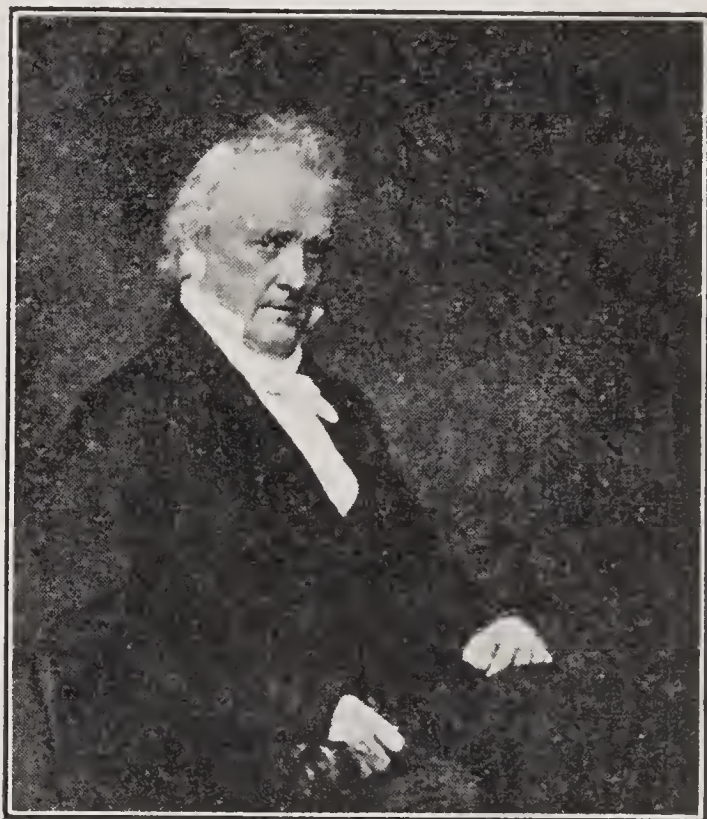
CHAPTER XXXI

THE FINAL STRUGGLE AGAINST SLAVERY EXTENSION

434. Two Long-standing Disputes over Slaves as Property and Slavery in the Territories are presented to the Supreme Court. —

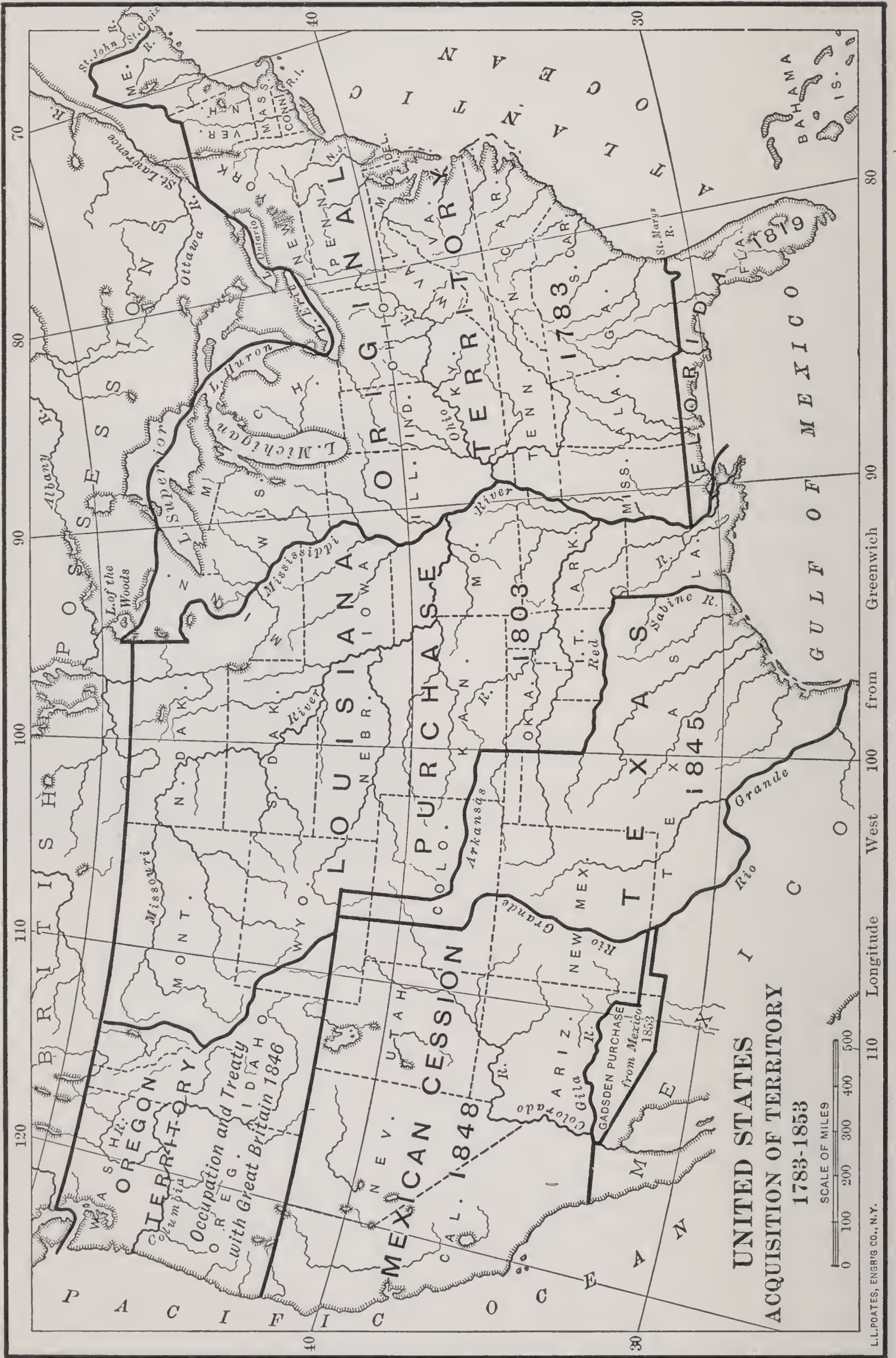
It had been a long-standing dispute whether slaves were to be treated as persons or merely as property. The Constitution did not clearly settle this. The anti-slavery men contended that when the Constitution said, "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," this applied to those accused of being runaway slaves and that the Constitution nowhere refers to "slaves" or considers them as property. They said that slaves were property only by state laws. The South, or the slaveholders, held to the "property doctrine," — that slaves should be considered by the national government merely as property. Again, Congress had refused to settle the question of slavery in the territories, and had left it to the territorial settlers. The people of Kansas, as we have seen, had come to regular war and bloodshed in trying to settle it.

435. The Dred Scott Decision. — The Supreme Court was now to try its hand at these two questions: Are slaves property by



JAMES BUCHANAN.

Born in Pennsylvania, in 1791, and died in the same state, in 1868. He was a graduate of Dickinson College, and became eminent as a lawyer at an early age. He was United States senator, Secretary of State, and minister to England before becoming President.



national law, and shall slavery be kept out of the territories? The court came into the political arena with a decision touching these two questions, — a decision that startled the country, and aroused still further the antislavery spirit and agitation. This was the famous Dred Scott decision, announced on March 6, 1857.

Dred Scott was a Missouri slave whose owner, Dr. Emerson, an army surgeon, had taken him first to Illinois and then to Minnesota. Slavery was prohibited in Illinois by the law of that state, also in Minnesota, a part of the Louisiana Purchase, by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. In 1838 Emerson brought Dred back to Missouri, and some time after Dred sued for his liberty on the ground that temporary residence in free territory had made him free. He won his case in the lower Missouri court, but the Supreme Court of that state decided against him. Soon after a Mr. Sandford of New York became Dred's owner, and as Dred claimed to be a citizen of one state while Sandford was a citizen of another, a new case was gotten up for trial, this time in the United States courts. The United States Circuit Court in Missouri decided as the Missouri Supreme Court had done, that Dred was still a slave. This meant merely that the court would allow Missouri law to decide the case and that temporary residence in a free territory did not bring about the freedom of a slave after he had been returned to a slave state. No great importance would have attached to such a decision, but when Dred's lawyers appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States that high court greatly broadened the scope of the decision, setting forth judicial opinions against the antislavery cause, on three points of the deepest significance.

The court decides against the anti-slavery cause and supports the Southern view.

1. That a negro was not a citizen of the United States and, therefore, could not sue in the United States courts. He was not included either in the Declaration of Independence or in the Constitution. Chief Justice Taney, who rendered the decision, said that in the early days when the government was

founded, the black man was not included in the political community, and he was looked upon as having "no rights which the white man was bound to respect"; and, although more humane sentiments may have since arisen concerning the negro, his legal and political status had not been changed.

2. The decision affirmed that a slave was not a "person" within the meaning of the Constitution but was only property, like a horse or a cow, or any other property, and that Congress could not exclude this property from the territories, but was in duty bound to protect it there.

3. Therefore, the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional from the beginning, and any attempt to restore it, or to enact any law like the Wilmot Proviso, prohibiting slavery in the territories, would be null and void.

Such was the meaning of the decision.

436. The Decision over Dred Scott arouses more Agitation.—The Court had accepted the Southern view as to the "property doctrine" and the rights of slavery in the territories. The Republican party had been organized for the purpose of preventing the spread of slavery by keeping it out of the territories. If this could not be done, the party had no reason for being. The Republicans, therefore, denounced the Supreme Court and rejected the decision as partisan and unsound, and refused to be bound by it. They did not propose to resist it, but they proposed to do what they could to have the country and the court overrule it, as the court had before frequently overruled its own decisions. They accepted the dissenting opinions of Justices Curtis and McLean instead, which said the negro might be a citizen, and that Congress had a right to keep slavery out of the territories. Buchanan had promised in his inaugural address that the court would soon settle the question of slavery in the territories, and he hoped all excitement on the subject would be allayed. Far from settling the question or allaying the excitement, the Dred Scott decision only added to the bitterness of the struggle.

The people of the South would not now be satisfied with less

than the Supreme Court had declared were their legal rights. So the decision appears to have made slavery a national institution by bringing slave property under the protection of national law; it declared slavery to be legal in the territories, and nobody could prohibit it there till the people of the new state should do so when they came to make a constitution preparatory to admission to the Union.

The aggressive and radical advocates of slavery now seemed to be completely triumphant. They had the law on their side, as laid down by the highest court of the land. They ^{Slavery} were in control of the Democratic administration, for ^{men} win.

Buchanan, who was a weak and vacillating man, was under their influence. He was constantly in fear that the slaveholders, if slavery were in any way interfered with, would secede and destroy the Union, as they were threatening to do.

437. The Lecompton Struggle. — The next effort of the slavery extensionists was to bring Kansas into the Union as a slave state against the will of her people. The proslavery legislature of Kansas called a convention at Lecompton, which adopted a constitution permitting slavery. The people of the territory were not allowed to vote against this constitution. They could vote for the constitution with slavery or for it without slavery, but nobody could vote against the constitution. Governor Walker of Kansas told President Buchanan that the majority of the Kansas people were against this Lecompton Constitution, but Buchanan accepted it and recommended that Congress admit Kansas as a slave state with this constitution. Douglas opposed Buchanan's policy and said that the people of Kansas had not a fair chance to vote on the Lecompton constitution according to his principle of popular sovereignty. He said he did "not care whether slavery was voted up or voted down," but that Kansas had a right to the kind of a constitution her people wanted. Buchanan's Lecompton policy of trying to force slavery on the people of Kansas was defeated by Douglas, and it led to another division of the Democratic party on slavery.

438. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858.—In 1858 Douglas was a candidate for reelection to the Senate from Illinois. Lincoln was nominated by the Republicans as a candidate against him. Lincoln's speech in accepting the nomination (June 16, 1858) is one of the most famous speeches in American politics. He said the nation could not endure half slave and half free; it would have to become all one thing or all the other.

He thought the nation would have to be controlled either by men who thought slavery was right and would try to extend it, or by men who thought it was wrong and would try to restrict it. To many politicians this speech seemed too radical, and they said it would result in Lincoln's defeat. Lincoln said: "The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered; if I go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth; let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right."

Douglas and Lincoln, the rival candidates, spoke in a series of joint debates before the people of Illinois. They discussed the questions of the day in the open air, and people flocked from miles around to hear these champions speak. Douglas was a famous debater, one of the greatest in the country. He had magnetism, the gift of oratory, and a great personal following. He had been many years in Congress (since 1843), had a national reputation, and he had successfully met great leaders like Sumner, Chase, and Seward in senatorial discussion. His followers called him the "Little Giant of the West," and they considered him invincible in debate.

Beside Douglas, who was short and fat, standing five feet three, stood Lincoln, six feet four,—tall, lean, gaunt, and homely. Lincoln was not an orator. His voice was shrill, piping, and unpleasant, and his manner was awkward. He knew the people thought Douglas a great man, much greater than himself. But Lincoln was honest, plain, and straightforward. The people called him "Honest Abe." He was

Lincoln
says slav-
ery is
wrong
and the
nation
must stand
against it.

The dif-
ference
between
Douglas
and Lin-
coln.

good-humored and had a great fund of good stories to tell. But more important than any of these things, Lincoln had one all-powerful advantage, — he was on the right side. He said “a live dog is better than a dead lion.” For purposes of opposing slavery he thought Douglas, with all his ability, might as well have been dead.

Douglas had said he did not care whether slavery was extended or not. He did not care about the right or wrong of slavery. Lincoln *cared*, and he wanted a national policy as to slavery which would deal with it as being wrong. Douglas would not *force* slavery on Kansas and other territories against the will of their people, as Buchanan and some Southern leaders were trying to do, but he was willing to let it go into the territories if a majority of the people there wanted it. Lincoln said that this was like saying that if one man wanted to enslave another no third man had a right to object. He said that even if the white men in Kansas should choose to enslave the black men, all the rest of the people had a right, and it was their duty, to prevent it.

Lincoln asked Douglas a question which led Douglas to say that, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, the people of Kansas, by “unfriendly legislation,” could keep slavery out of Kansas before they were ready for statehood. The South would not support Douglas for the Presidency after that. Douglas won the Illinois senatorship, but Lincoln “had his eye on bigger game.” This debate gave Lincoln a wide reputation. His party felt that he had stood up boldly for the right, that he had really beaten Douglas in debate, and his victory paved the way for the Presidency in 1860.

Lincoln
had the
better of
the de-
bate.

439. John Brown makes a Mad Attempt to free the Slaves. — In this period of intense excitement occurred an event which made it more difficult, if not impossible, to solve the slavery question in a peaceful way. This was John Brown’s raid. To Brown, slavery was the sum of all villainies. He had vowed eternal war and hatred against it. He thought it was too late to vote

slavery down. He believed, as he said, that "the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood." He was ready for more bloody work. On October 16, 1859, with a band of twenty men, he seized the United States Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, in Virginia. He expected to arouse the slaves; he would put arms in their hands and let them fight for their freedom. He would encourage the slaves to run away, harbor them in the mountains, and thus make slave property of so little value that the South would be compelled to free its slaves. The attempt was madness and folly. The slaves, of course, did not rise. Brown was soon captured by United States marines under Colonel Robert E. Lee; ten of his followers, including one of his sons, were killed, and Brown was tried, convicted, and executed for murder and treason under the laws of Virginia.

The different views of John Brown and his work illustrate very clearly how far apart the North and South were in the slavery conflict, and what a spirit of war and disunion was abroad in the land. Many of the Abolitionists of the North regarded Brown as a martyr to liberty; they commended his spirit and applauded his purpose, if not his method. Emerson called him a hero, and Gerrit Smith said that, "of all men in the world, Brown was most truly a Christian." "Martyr services" were held in Concord, Massachusetts, on the day of his execution, and a poem was recited in his honor. The closing lines of the poem are as follows:—

Brown
was con-
demned by
some and
praised by
others.

"And then the humble poor will come
In that far-distant day,
And from the felon's nameless grave
They'll brush the leaves away;
And gray old men will point the spot
Beneath the pine tree shade,
As children ask with streaming eyes
Where old John Brown is laid."

The South was thrown into intense excitement and rage at this attempt to arouse their slaves to insurrection. They con-

cluded from the abolition expressions that the North indorsed Brown's acts, and, in that case, they very naturally felt that their homes and firesides were unsafe in the Union. They regarded Brown's act as he intended it, an act of war on slavery. They now demanded of Congress a sedition act to prevent any future attempt to arouse people against slavery. Most moderate men at the North condemned Brown. An attempt was made to fasten some responsibility for his course upon the Republican party, but without success. In 1860 that party condemned Brown's act as "the gravest of crimes."

The South
is alarmed
over
Brown's
effort.

440. The Election of 1860. — The two sections were drawing farther and farther apart. The slavery question had divided churches and broken up political parties. So far, the Democratic party had maintained its national character, under the control of Southern leadership. This party now divided into a Northern wing and a Southern wing. In its national convention at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860, the Southern delegates, being denied their demands in the platform, bolted from the convention and nominated a ticket of their own. There were now four parties in the field: —

The *Republicans* nominated Lincoln and Hamlin, on a platform demanding that Congress should prohibit slavery in the territories.

The *Southern Democrats* nominated Breckinridge and Lane on a platform demanding that Congress should protect slavery in the territories.

The *Northern Democrats*, with Douglas and Johnson as their candidates, stood for "popular sovereignty," that is, that the settlers in the Territories should decide whether there should be slavery or not.

The *Constitutional Union* party nominated Bell of Tennessee and Everett of Massachusetts. They wished to disregard the slavery question entirely. They declared for the "Constitution of the country, the Union of the states, the enforcement of the laws."

It was seen that the division in the Democratic party made Lincoln's election almost certain. Southern men freely declared that if he were elected the cotton states would secede. They said they would not submit to "Black Republican" rule. Douglas and Bell also said the Union was in danger, but the Republicans said this cry, "the Union is in danger," was like the cry of "wolf"; it had been a false cry many times before and it was now made to frighten people from voting for Lincoln. This cry had elected Buchanan in 1856; and Seward said this threat of "breaking up the Union" had been made for twenty years and that now the Northern people should stand by their principles and not be afraid; that the Southern leaders would not do as they said.

The North
refuses to
be fright-
ened about
disunion.

It seems the North and the South were no longer able to understand one another. Every Northern state voted for Lincoln, and he was elected. Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee voted for Bell and Everett. The majority of their people were Union-loving men. Douglas carried only Missouri and a part of the electoral vote of New Jersey, although his popular vote was next to that of Lincoln. All the rest of the slave states voted for Breckinridge.

Lincoln was elected. Northern opponents of slavery felt that freedom was triumphant; that slavery would now be kept within bounds. The country should return to the principles of the fathers, of Washington, Jefferson, Mason, and Madison, who wished slavery limited to the states in which it then existed. Thus the North had spoken. What would be the answer of the South?

Lincoln
was
elected.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1857-1861. Buchanan's Administration.
- 1857. The Dred Scott Decision.
- 1858. The Lincoln-Douglas Debate.
- 1858. Silver discovered in Nevada.
- 1859. John Brown's Raid.

CHAPTER XXXII

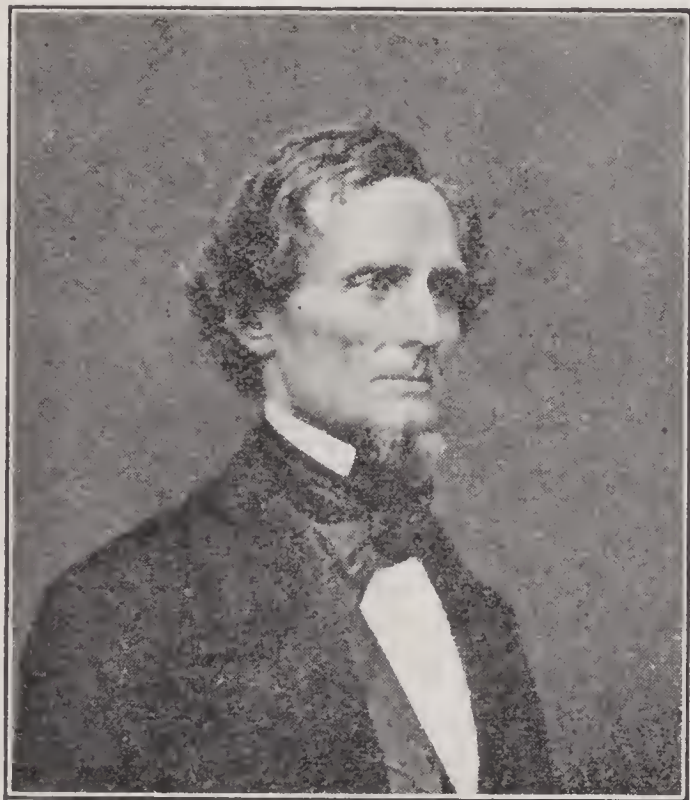
SECESSION AND DISUNION

441. South Carolina begins Secession. — In 1860 South Carolina was the only state that still retained the practice of choosing her Presidential electors by the state legislature. On the day that Lincoln was elected the South Carolina legislature was in session for this purpose. After appointing electors to vote for Breckinridge and Lane the members of the legislature did not adjourn and go home; they waited to hear the result of the election. Three days after it was known that Lincoln was elected, the legislature called a convention of the people of South Carolina. This convention assembled on December 17, 1860, and after only three days' deliberation passed, on December 20, 1860, what was called "an ordinance to dissolve the union between the state of South Carolina and other states united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America." After the ordinance was properly signed the president of the convention proclaimed the state of South Carolina "an independent Commonwealth." Thus South Carolina seceded, and it was publicly announced that the Union was dissolved. On the following day the Charleston papers published items from other states under the head, "Foreign News."

This meant that South Carolina would govern herself and no longer recognize the authority of the United States. She claimed the right to do this because, as she said, the Union was only a league, not a nation, and that the "compact," as she called the Constitution, had been broken. The state gave reasons for exercising this right of secession. These reasons may be found in South

South Carolina holds to the "compact" theory.

Carolina's "Declaration of Causes." They all related to slavery. Few, if any, of the Southern people denied the right of a state to secede if it saw fit, although General Lee said that there



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Born in Kentucky, June 3, 1808; died at New Orleans, Dec. 6, 1889. West Point graduate, 1828; served in the Black Hawk War, 1831-1832; moved to Mississippi and was elected to Congress, 1845-1846; resigned to go to the Mexican War; United States senator from 1847 to 1851; Secretary of War under President Pierce, 1853-1857; again United States senator from 1857 to 1861, when he withdrew to join the Confederacy; inaugurated as President of the Confederate States, Feb. 18, 1861, and served throughout the war; captured by the Union troops at Irwinsville, Georgia, May 10, 1865; imprisoned two years at Fortress Monroe, was released on bail, and was never brought to trial.

bama, formed a constitution, established a provisional government, which they called the "Confederate States of America," and elected Jefferson Davis of Mississippi President and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia Vice President of the new confederacy.

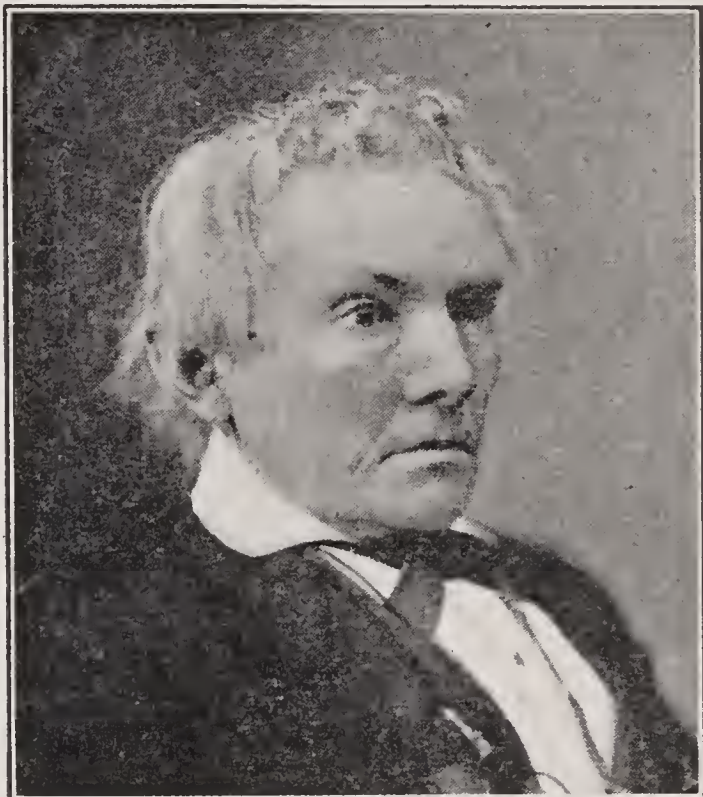
was not sufficient cause for secession and that such a step would be revolution. But when a state announced its will to secede, the Southern people believed that all its citizens, whether they were supporters or opposers of secession, were bound to maintain the will of the state, even to the extent of war against the United States. But this issue would not have been presented if it had not been for slavery. It was slavery that arrayed the will of the state against the United States in 1861.

442. Formation of the Southern Confederacy, 1861. — Other slave states followed South Carolina. Within six weeks (by February 1, 1861) Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had seceded from the Union. Each gave for its action virtually the same reason as that assigned by South Carolina, — the interests of slavery. On February 4, 1861, delegates from six states met at Montgomery, Ala-

Southern senators, United States judges, and other officers resigned their positions, saying they would no longer serve or obey the United States. While they were seceding, the Southerners seized all the United States mints, forts, arsenals, and public buildings within the seceding states. By March 1, 1861, only Fort Pickens, at Pensacola, and Fort Sumter, at Charleston, were left in possession of the United States. Thus the Union was dissolving. The nation's authority was defied, its offices were vacated, its loyal representatives driven out, and its flag was hauled down throughout seven states of the Union.

443. President Buchanan takes no Steps to defeat Secession.—Meanwhile, in December, 1860, Congress met. Buchanan was under the influence of Southern men and he sympathized with their state rights views. In his message to Congress he blamed the antislavery men of the North for all the trouble, and he made out that South Carolina had just cause for seceding. Then he said South Carolina had no constitutional right to secede; but if she did secede the nation could not prevent it, for the general government had no power to “coerce a state.”

Buchanan seemed not to understand that America was a nation and that the general government had a right to enforce its laws and to suppress an insurrection of its citizens.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS.

Statesman; born Feb. 11, 1812, died March 4, 1883. Whig leader in Georgia; elected to Congress in 1843, serving sixteen years in the House of Representatives; in 1861 he opposed secession in the Georgia Convention, but went with his state and became Vice President of the Southern Confederacy; served ten years in Congress after the war; was elected governor of Georgia in 1882. Stephens favored the Compromise of 1850, and though he tried to prevent his state from seceding, he was an ardent defender of slavery. His famous “corner stone speech” at Savannah, 1861, was in advocacy of the natural inequality of the races.

So Buchanan's message proposed no policy. He wanted to wait until the storm blew over or until his successor came into office. The secessionists, therefore, saw that they would have till the 4th of March to carry out their plans without interference. General Cass of Michigan resigned as Secretary of State (December 12, 1860) because Buchanan would not attempt to hold the Southern forts. Some of the Southern men retired from the Cabinet to help on in the work of secession. Joseph Holt of Kentucky, Edwin M. Stanton of Ohio, and John A. Dix of New York, Democrats of backbone, who believed, like Jackson, that "the American Union must and shall be preserved," came into the Cabinet, and General Dix sent a ringing message to a revenue officer in New Orleans, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." This gave hope and spirit to the Union men of the North.

Buchanan at last broke away from the influence of the secessionists. On January 9 he attempted to send provisions to Fort Sumter in the steamer *Star of the West*, but the vessel was fired on in Charleston Harbor and was forced to turn back. This was an attack on national authority and may be considered in a sense the first act of war.

444. The Crittenden Compromise, 1861. The Peace Congress.—All sorts of plans were proposed in Congress for conciliation and compromise, to persuade the South to come back and not break up the Union. The most notable was that of Senator Crittenden of Kentucky, the successor of Henry Clay. He proposed what is known as the "Crittenden Compromise," that the line $36^{\circ}30'$ should be restored, that slavery be retained in the District of Columbia, that fugitive slaves be paid for by the national government if not returned, and that Congress should never be authorized to interfere with slavery in the states.

It seems surprising at this day, after a successful war has firmly established our nationality, that such a spirit of concession and surrender manifested itself in Congress and the North in the face of the secession movement, in the winter of 1860-1861.

The majority of the North would no doubt have voted for the Crittenden Compromise. All the Douglas men and the Bell and Everett men would have done so, and many of the Republicans seemed frightened at what they had done in voting for Lincoln. The majority were ready for almost anything to save the Union and avoid war. A "peace congress," at Washington, under the lead of ex-President Tyler, in which twenty-one states were represented, proposed terms similar to the Crittenden Compromise. Congress, by a two-thirds vote, adopted a *thirteenth amendment*, — very unlike the one adopted four years later, — guaranteeing that the Constitution should never permit the national authority to interfere with slavery in the states. Wendell Phillips said the Southern states had a right to set up an independent government if they wanted to. Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, the most influential of the Republican papers, said, "Let the erring sisters go in peace," and "if the cotton states choose to form an independent nation, they have a clear moral right to do so."

445. The North demands the Enforcement of the Constitution and the Laws. — Many good men believed that the men who made the Union never intended it to be preserved by force. But the people of the North soon came to believe that further compromise was useless; that the South intended either to rule or ruin the government; that Lincoln, having been fairly elected, should be inaugurated, and the question squarely met whether or not the national law should be obeyed, and whether the voice of the majority, expressed through the regular forms of the Constitution, should be submitted to or defied. Under Lincoln's leadership the people soon recovered from their panic of doubt and fear, and arose to defend the life of the nation.

FACTS AND DATES

1860 (Dec. 20). Secession of South Carolina.

1861 (Feb. 4). Formation of the Southern Confederacy.

1861–1865. Lincoln's First Administration.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE CIVIL WAR

THE FIRST YEAR IN THE EAST

446. Lincoln becomes President. — On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States. He came into office at one of the most trying times in the history of the country, in the face of disunion and Civil War. Not since Washington led the armies of the Revolution had any one man been so important to the country as Lincoln was in 1861. The choice of Lincoln, though he was not well known at the time, turned out to be a most fortunate one. He is now ranked with Washington among the greatest of our Presidents.

447. Lincoln was opposed to Slavery but was not an Abolitionist. — On the subject of slavery Lincoln was not an Abolitionist. Yet he was opposed to slavery and wished to see the time soon come when all men in America would be free. He said to John Hanks, when on a flatboat trip to New Orleans in 1831, where they had been witnesses of a slave market, "If ever I get a chance to hit slavery, I'll hit it hard." He got a chance and, as we know, he gave slavery its deathblow in 1863. Lincoln believed in equal rights for all. In 1858, he said in answer to Douglas, who accused him of desiring to make the negro the social equal of the white man, "In his right to the bread which he has earned by the sweat of his brow, the black man is my equal, the equal of Judge Douglas or of any other man." We see from this that Lincoln loved justice. He wanted fair play and a "square deal" for all men, high or low, rich or poor, white or black.

Lincoln believed that if slavery could be kept from expanding it was doomed to die. The Southern defenders of slavery

believed this too. On that subject Lincoln would not compromise. *No further extension of slavery*, — that was the principle on which his party had been created and on which he had been elected. Lincoln would not yield it. If the South would destroy the Union by war rather than see it live on that principle, Lincoln would accept war rather than see it perish.

Lincoln
stood
against
the exten-
sion of
slavery.

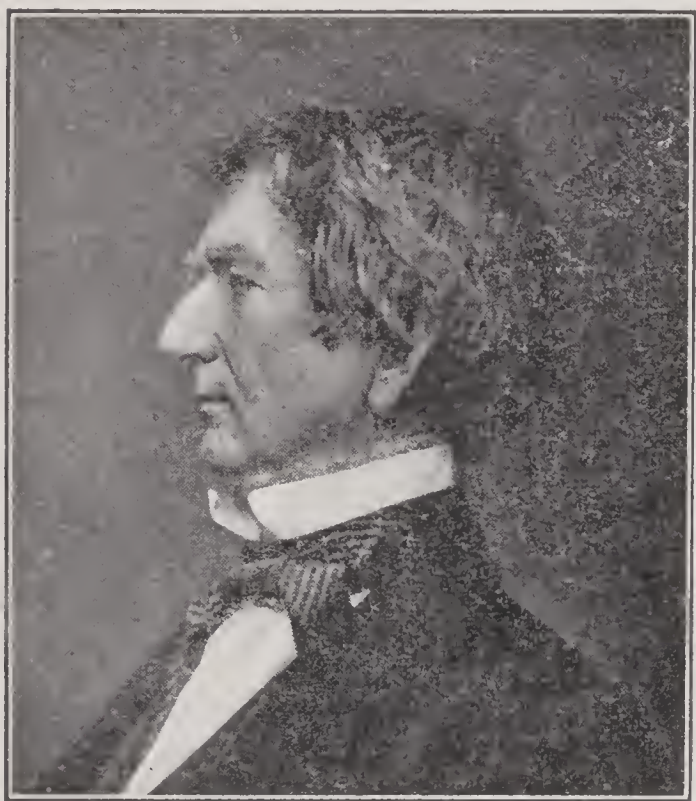
But Lincoln did not propose to overturn the institution of slavery in the Southern states or take away the slave property of the Southern people. He felt that Southern slavery was their business, not his. He was even willing for the Fugitive Slave Law to stand and be enforced, and because of that many good men were disposed to blame him, and he was called by Wendell Phillips “the slave hound of Illinois.” He said in his inaugural address: “I have no purpose to interfere with slavery in the states where it exists. I have no lawful right to do so and I have no inclination to do so.”

He did not
wish to
interfere
in the
Southern
states.

448. The South misunderstood the North and seceded in Defense of Slavery. — Lincoln had said this repeatedly before, but the South did not believe him or did not understand him. They distrusted him and his party, and supposed the Northern majority would try to make the Southern people free their slaves. They were determined not to submit to the rule of the Republican party. They knew that party was against slavery in spirit and purpose, and they were convinced that the slave interests were not safe within the Union. They determined to secede and make a new Union of slave states only, for the purpose of making their slave property more secure.

449. The North fought to save the Union, not to destroy Slavery. — But the great majority of the Northern people had no intention of interfering with slave property in the South. They were determined only to restrict the area of slavery. If the South had not seceded and attacked the national authority, if it had been satisfied to keep slavery where it was, there would have been no war. It is also probable that slavery would not

have been abolished for many years to come. But when the South appealed to disunion and fired on the flag, the whole North was aroused as well as a majority of the border slave states, — Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware. The issue was no longer slavery and its extension. On that issue the people of the North were divided, but on saving the Union



WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Statesman; born at Florida, New York, May 16, 1801, died at Auburn, New York, Oct. 10, 1872; lawyer; in State Senate, 1830–1834; governor of New York, 1838–1842; elected to the United States Senate as an Anti-slavery Whig, serving from 1849 to 1861; helped to organize the Republican party; Secretary of State under Lincoln and Johnson, 1861–1869.

they were united. They were determined that the Union should be preserved, and that there should not be two republics within the United States.

We have seen that slavery was the cause of the war. But it must not be understood that to abolish or to defend slavery was the object of the war. The North did not go to war and invade the South to abolish slavery. It was to save the life of the nation and to preserve the Union. They believed the Union should be perpetual, that it was not merely a compact or a league of states, but that it was one nation not to be destroyed at the will of any state, and that it should never be broken up, but should be “an indivisible union of

indestructible states”; that secession was rebellion, and that the Constitution and the laws should be enforced throughout the land. In the beginning of the war Congress officially declared that the purpose of the war was not to interfere with slavery, but to preserve the Constitution and the Union and to enforce the laws; and in the midst of the war, Lincoln said that if he could save the Union by freeing all the slaves he would do that, if he could save the Union by leaving them all in bondage he would do that, and if he could save the Union by freeing

some of the slaves and leaving others in bondage he would do that; his chief object was to save the Union. While it is true that the Northern soldiers enlisted in a war for the Union, and not in a war for abolition of slavery, it soon became known that the success of the Northern armies meant liberty for the slaves as well as union for the states.

450. The South fought for Independence and Self-government and against "Coercion." — On the other hand, in justice to the South, it must be remembered that while the interests of slaveholders involved the South in war, the Southern soldiers were not fighting to defend slavery. Two thirds of them never owned a slave, and if it had been officially announced that the maintenance of slavery was the object of the war the Southern armies would soon have been disbanded.

The Southern people were brave, and they were true to their convictions. They sincerely believed that their states had a right to secede and that their first allegiance was due to their state; that they were fighting for home rule, for local self-government, for separate national independence. They thought the North had no right to invade their states to force them into submission. "Coercion" was odious to many Southern men who cared little for slavery. They would not have a Union pinned together by bayonets. Rather than be "submissionists" and see a sovereign state brought under the yoke by military power, they would join together and fight for independence and the right of a state to determine its own course. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas did not secede until after the war began, and they went with the South, as they said, not to defend slavery, but because they would not have the national government "coerce a state."

451. War begins by the Attack on Fort Sumter. — The Civil War began with the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861. After Lincoln decided to send provisions and reënforcements to Major Anderson there, General Beauregard, the Confederate commander, was ordered to reduce the fort. "Having defended the fort for thirty-four hours," says

Anderson, “until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the magazine surrounded by flame, ammunition gone, and no provision remaining but pork, I accepted the terms offered by General Beauregard and marched out of the fort on Sunday afternoon the 14th, with colors flying, drums beating, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.”

Anderson
surrenders
Fort Sum-
ter, April
14, 1861.



P. G. T. BEAUREGARD.

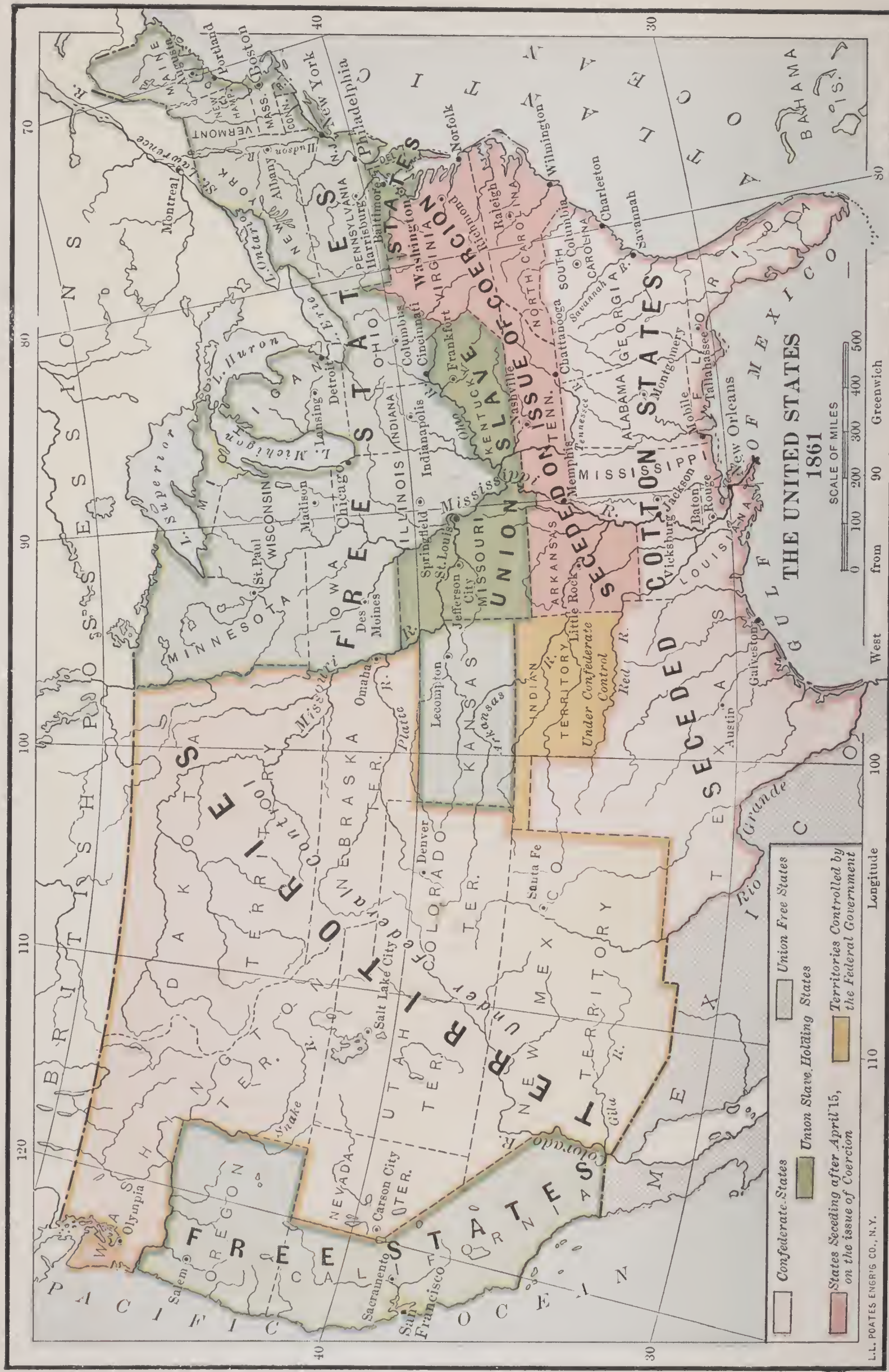
Confederate general; born in New Orleans, May 28, 1818, died there, Feb. 20, 1893. Studied at West Point; fought in the Mexican War, and was one of the leading generals of the Southern armies during the Civil War.

No lives were lost in this conflict, but it was one of the most important events in the history of the country. The flag had been fired on and war had begun,—one of the greatest and most dreadful civil wars in human history. Little did the people on either side realize what a conflict was before them.

452. The National Uprising, April, 1861.—Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers for one hundred days to suppress the insurrection and to enforce the laws. Union mass meetings were held all over the land. Party differences were forgotten. Democrats and Republicans rallied together around the flag. Northern governors responded with loyalty

and promptness; volunteers were enlisted and troops were sent forward to sustain the government. It was a spontaneous uprising of patriotism, a wonderful manifestation of the national spirit.

453. The Strength of the Two Sections.—Twenty-two states now stood for the Union and the assertion of national authority. Eleven states stood for the Confederacy and independence. The twenty-two states had a population of about twenty-two millions. One half million of these were slaves. The eleven states had a population of nine millions. Three and one half



millions of these were slaves. Thus the free white people were four to one on the Union side; but the slaves were a great aid to the South in the war, in raising supplies and in the work of the camp.

The North was much superior also, in money, wealth, and resources; in business enterprise, skilled laborers, and self-supporting workers; in transportation facilities, in shipbuilding and naval equipment, and in all the products of factory and farm. The South was dependent on Europe or the North for almost everything that it used, “for almost every yard of cloth and every coat and boot and hat that we wear, for our axes, scythes, tubs, and buckets,” for everything “from matches and shoe pegs to steamships and statuary.” In wheat, corn, oats, meats, and milk, — in everything that would afford feed for horses and food for men, the South was greatly inferior.

Industrial
dependence
of the
South.

The South was of greater area than the North, leaving out the territories and the Pacific slope. The North had 768,000 square miles, the South 875,000, but more of the land in the South was uncultivated, and the South relied chiefly on its one product, cotton. When her cotton could not be sold for goods abroad, the South was fatally crippled.

These things will lead us to understand why the North succeeded and the South failed. It was owing to superior numbers, resources, and greater industrial capacity at the North. Manly courage, ability, self-sacrifice, patriotic devotion to a cause, — the South had these qualities in an equal degree with the North.

454. Virginia gives Strength to the South. West Virginia withdraws.— Virginia’s secession greatly strengthened the South. This made Virginia the theater of war in the East and it brought the Confederate forces very close to the national capital. Richmond became the capital of the Confederacy, and Virginia contributed Generals Robert E. Lee and “Stonewall” Jackson, the greatest soldiers of the South, to the Confederate cause. West Virginia, however, seceded from Virginia, and these forty-five counties west of the mountains were recognized by Congress

and admitted as a state (1863). From this new state, and from Kentucky and East Tennessee, where the Union sentiment was strong, the Union armies received many volunteers.



ROBERT EDWARD LEE.

Leading Confederate general; born in Virginia, Jan. 19, 1807, died, Oct. 12, 1870; West Point graduate, 1829; served in the Mexican War; though opposed to secession in 1861, he obeyed the voice of his state, resigned his command in the United States army, and offered his services to Virginia and the South. His military ability was a source of great strength to the Confederacy. He was a master in defensive warfare, a man of pure motives and high sense of duty. After the war Lee became president of what is now Washington and Lee University, a position which he held until his death.

455. Preparations begin.—The first work to be done was to drill the raw recruits into disciplined troops. It was the volunteers from civil life the government had to rely on. The “boys in blue” did not like to join the regular army. It was a stupendous task to transform these fresh volunteers into trained soldiers. It could not be done in three months. They were impatient of discipline and wholly unused to military life.

The war took the people of the North by surprise. Very few really believed war would come, and the people were totally unprepared, and when war came they said it would be over soon. Seward said the trouble “would blow over in sixty days.” Some one said General Sherman was “crazy” for saying that it would take two hundred

The North was unprepared for war.

thousand men and four years to subdue the South. Sherman had been living in the South, and he knew. It was nearly a year after the war began before the North got ready to fight.

456. The Military Objects in View.—Each side had three immediate objects in view: (1) To protect its own capital. (2) To capture its enemy’s capital. (3) To defeat the opposing army. Washington, on the boundary line, was in danger. A battery on Arlington Heights, across the Potomac, could

make the city and the White House untenable. The loss of the capital might have proved disastrous. Northern troops hurried forward to protect Washington. The Sixth Massachusetts regiment had to fight its way through Baltimore in the face of rioters, and some of the soldiers and citizens were killed. Here was the first bloodshed of the war. Within six weeks ten thousand soldiers were in Washington, and it was felt that the city was safe.

Protecting
Washing-
ton.

The approach to Richmond was blocked by the Chickahominy River and its dangerous marshes. To attack Richmond from the south side would require a navy. To attack from the west would expose a Northern army to the danger of having its communications and supplies cut off.

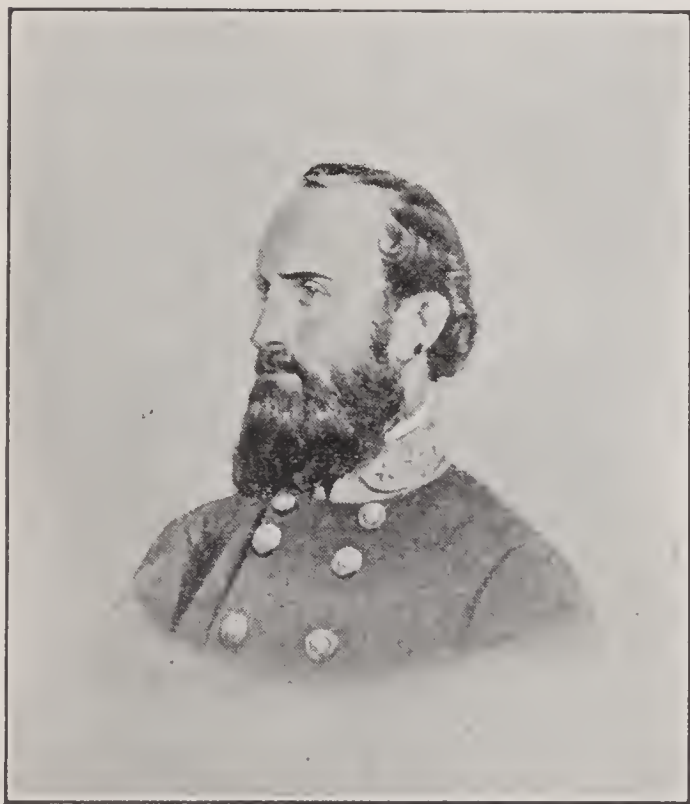
The ap-
proach to
Richmond.

The North — Maryland and Pennsylvania — was exposed to invasion down the valley of the Shenandoah, out of range of any Union army defending Washington. This became the famous avenue all through the war for the invasion of the North, down the valley to Harpers Ferry, and then into Maryland. No Union commander could afford to leave a Confederate army in the Shenandoah valley of Virginia and march toward Richmond. The Confederates could cross the Potomac, invade Maryland, and seize or cut the railroads leading to the capital. Reënforcements and supplies from the North would be cut off. The Union army would have to return to defend its capital and drive out the invaders. This is what happened when McClellan went to the James Peninsula to attack Richmond in 1862.

The im-
portance
of the
Shenan-
doah val-
ley.

457. The Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861. — The Confederate general, Joseph E. Johnston, with the army of the Shenandoah, was commanded to hold the Shenandoah valley as a source of supplies. He had about eleven thousand men. General Beauregard, the “hero of Fort Sumter,” was in command of the main body of the Confederates, twenty-two thousand men, at Manassas Creek, about thirty-five miles southwest of Washington. General Winfield Scott, “the hero of two wars,” — of

Lundy's Lane and of Cerro Gordo, — now seventy-five years old, was in command of the Union forces. He sent General Patterson with about thirteen thousand men to watch Johnston in the Shenandoah, and to prevent him from joining his forces to those of General Beauregard.



"STONEWALL" JACKSON.

Thomas Jonathan Jackson, famous Confederate general; born in Virginia, Jan. 21, 1824; died, May 10, 1863, from wounds received in the battle of Chancellorsville. Graduate of West Point, 1846; served in the Mexican War; followed his state in secession, 1861; won great distinction with Lee; was notable for his "hurricane raids" in Virginia; was a student of the Bible, a man of prayer, a devout Christian. Regular prayer meetings were held at his headquarters, at which thousands of soldiers were often present. He is one of the greatest and most famous soldiers on either side during the Civil War.

The North was impatient to end the war. "On to Richmond! On to Richmond!" was the cry. Against Scott's military judgment President Lincoln was induced to order an advance. Scott ordered General McDowell to attack the Confederates. With about thirty thousand men he marched out in fine array. On July 21, 1861, at "Bull Run" (or Manassas), was fought the first important battle of the war. It was a battle well planned but poorly fought.

At first the battle went in favor of the Union army. The Union troops were turning the left flank of the Confederates, and the Southern troops of Generals Evans, Bartow, and Bee were being pressed back. These brave generals again rallied their men, and Bee called out, "See Jackson's brigade standing like a stone wall!" *Stonewall* stuck to

Stonewall Jackson.

Jackson throughout the war, and it is the name by which this great soldier will ever be known. Patterson had failed to detain Johnston in the Shenandoah, and fresh Southern troops came on the field in the nick of time. The Union troops were utterly defeated and driven back upon Washington in humiliating flight. The Union forces lost about

The Northern army is defeated.

twenty-eight hundred men, the Confederates about nineteen hundred.

The Confederate army did not venture to pursue its victory and capture Washington, as it might have done. So Bull Run had no material results, but the moral effect of the Confederate victory was considerable. The North was humiliated and depressed; the South was correspondingly elated. Some Southerners concluded that the war was as good as over. The Confederate cause revived in Missouri and Kentucky; the attitude of foreign powers became less friendly to the United States, and it became evident to the people of the North that the war would be no holiday campaign, but that a long and terrible struggle would be necessary to put down the rebellion. Congress voted to raise five hundred million dollars and five hundred thousand men for three years or for the war. Before the "hundred-day men" could be hammered into anything like seasoned soldiers, their terms of enlistment expired.

Effects of
the battle
of Bull
Run.

458. General McClellan drills the Union Army. — General Scott now retired and General George B. McClellan was called from West Virginia to take command of the Union army. By the battle of Rich Mountain (July 11, 1861) and by skirmishes, McClellan had succeeded in driving the Confederates out of West Virginia. Great things were now expected of McClellan. It was his worthy work to organize the raw volunteers and make out of them an effective fighting machine. He devoted himself for nine months to drill and discipline, and then he had the magnificent army of the Potomac, of one hundred and fifty thousand men. For months the regular morning newspaper report of the army was, "All is quiet on the Potomac." To many this seemed like unnecessary inaction and delay.

The Confederates were also strengthening their lines and drilling their men. Forts and fortifications were being erected around Richmond and Washington, and it was evident that hard fighting was ahead if either army was to take the other's capital.

459. Disaster at Balls Bluff. — On October 21, 1861, a Union force of two thousand crossed the Potomac at Balls Bluff, near Harpers Ferry, and was cut off by the Confederates and utterly defeated. The defeat was due to mismanagement. The gallant Colonel Edwin D. Baker, the leader of the Union force, was killed. Baker was a friend of Lincoln, a popular United States senator from Oregon, and a brilliant orator. His defeat and death caused great sorrow and depression in the North.

460. The Navy and the Blockade. — In this period of military waiting and drill the navy was doing good service. The blockade was being enforced. One of the first things President Lincoln did when the war began was to declare the South in a state of blockade, April 19, 1861. This was notice to foreign merchant ships not to enter Southern ports. They would do so at the risk of having their ships and cargoes seized and confiscated. Lincoln's order was only a "paper blockade."

To enforce this order, blockading squadrons were now being placed at the ports, as fast as ships and sailors could be obtained. As soon as the blockade could be enforced by the navy and foreign products were prevented from entering the South, the Confederate armies could not be supplied. All articles of necessity — like food, shoes, clothing, and medicine — rose to an absurd price. By 1864 flour was two hundred and fifty dollars per barrel and meal fifty dollars. Corn was twenty-five dollars per bushel. A turkey cost sixty dollars and a pair of boots cost two hundred and fifty dollars. This was also due to the great amount of paper money the Confederacy had issued. One dollar in gold was equal to twenty-two dollars in Confederate money. The Confederate troops were reduced to wretchedness, and at the final surrender Lee appealed to Grant for rations for his ragged soldiers.

The South obtained "blockade runners," swift vessels whose business it was to steal in and out of Southern ports on dark nights, carrying cotton out and military stores in. Some cotton got out in this way, but very little compared with the vast amount exported before the

The blockade runners and privateers.

war began. A "cotton famine" occurred in Europe; cotton factories in England were closed, men were thrown out of employment, and there was much suffering. The South had said, "Cotton is king," thinking that the factories in the North and in England could not do without cotton; but when European powers would not help to break the blockade, and the cotton of the South was piled up at home without a market, the king was dethroned. Wheat and corn had become "king." President Davis issued letters of marque and reprisal (§ 186), authorizing Confederate privateers to prey upon the peaceful commerce of the North.

461. The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, March 8, 1862. — Early in 1862 the blockade was threatened by the *Merrimac*, an old sunken war ship that had been raised by the Confederates at Norfolk and made into an "ironclad." The *Merrimac* steamed to Hampton Roads, sank the *Cumberland*, burned the *Congress*, two United States ships stationed there, and it was clear that none of the wooden ships of the Union fleet could withstand this monster ironclad. Shot and shell produced no effect on the new sea warrior. Just in time the *Monitor*, looking like a "Yankee cheese box on a raft," hove in sight. This was a new Union ironclad, built by John Ericsson, commanded by Lieutenant Worden. On March 8, 1862, a sea duel followed between the two ironclads, and the *Monitor* drove the *Merrimac* to shelter, and saved the Union fleet and the blockade. This battle changed the conduct of naval warfare; wooden ships had to give way to vessels of steel and iron.

462. Foreign Relations. The *Trent* Affair. — In May, 1861, Great Britain issued a "proclamation of neutrality," and recognized the Confederates "as belligerents." This did not mean that the South was recognized as an independent nation, but only that the rights and rules of war were to apply to her. Her soldiers, if captured, were not to be treated as traitors or insurrectionists, but as prisoners of war, and her sailors should not be treated as pirates. The nation soon had to recognize the Confederacy as a war power. Lincoln's blockade had done this

in part, and the battle of Bull Run and other events soon made it a fact; but it was felt at the North that Great Britain had been hasty and unfriendly in doing this.

In the fall of 1861 President Davis sent two commissioners, Mason and Slidell, to England to obtain recognition of Southern independence. Mason and Slidell took passage from Havana on the *Trent*, a British steamer. The *Trent* was stopped and searched at sea by Captain Wilkes, of the United States ship *San Jacinto*, and Mason and Slidell were taken off as prisoners. Great Britain felt that her rights as a neutral nation had been violated, and her flag insulted. She made a sharp demand for the

Great Britain seems unfriendly to the North.

release of the prisoners, sent troops to Canada, and we faced the danger of war with Great Britain. Congress and the country applauded the act of Captain Wilkes, but President Lincoln and Secretary Seward saw that his act violated our own principles concerning neutral rights which we had contended for in the War of 1812, and Mason and Slidell were released. A foreign war was avoided, and the Confederates were disappointed. Some bitterness lingered in the North toward Great Britain for the unfriendly tone of her demand.

We must now turn to follow the war in the West.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE CIVIL WAR : THE SECOND YEAR

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST

463. The North had Four Objects in the West. — The objects of the campaign in the West were, (1) to hold the border states, Missouri and Kentucky, (2) to open the Mississippi River, (3) to cut the Confederacy in two by invasion, and (4) to relieve the Union men in East Tennessee from Confederate control. Then the Northern armies would come up from the South and coöperate with the Army of the Potomac about Richmond. It took four years to accomplish all this.

464. Battles of Wilson's Creek, August 10, 1861, and Pea Ridge, March 2, 1862. — In the summer of 1861 the Confederates made a bold effort to obtain control of Missouri. Governor Jackson of that state was on the side of the Confederates. With ten thousand men under Price and McCulloch, they defeated the Union troops under General Lyon in a hard-fought battle at Wilson's Creek (August 10, 1861). Lyon was killed. The Union forces under General Curtis and General Franz Sigel drove the Confederates under Van Dorn southward into Arkansas, and on March 2, 1862, totally defeated the Confederate army at Pea Ridge. This victory settled the fate of Missouri, though there was a large secession population in the state.

465. Kentucky attempts to be Neutral, but fails. — Kentucky tried to be neutral, but neither side would respect its neutrality. A Confederate force seized Columbus on the Mississippi, and a Union force occupied Paducah at the mouth of the Tennessee. Kentucky was obliged to declare for one side or the other, and on September 20, 1861, it declared for the Union,

when the legislature of the state called for troops to support the United States armies.

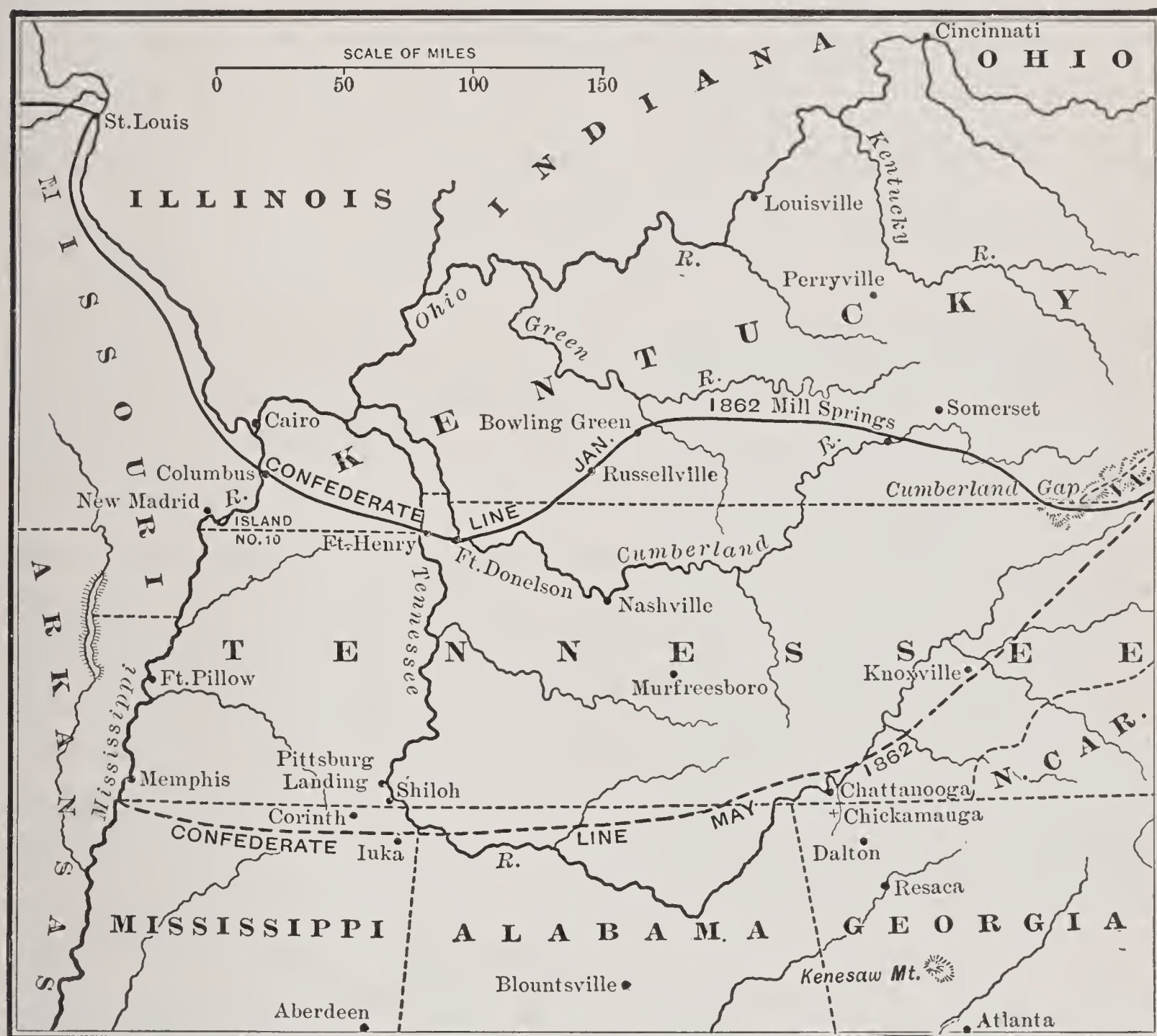
466. Importance of the Rivers. — The struggle for control in the West was first a struggle for the control of the rivers, the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, the Mississippi. A successful invasion could not be made without controlling these rivers. An army going into an enemy's country must keep open the way to receive its supplies. A railroad may be interrupted and torn up by the enemy. Transportation by water is not so liable to interruption.

The national forces first sought to control the Cumberland and the Tennessee. This would give them Nashville, the base of supplies for the Confederate forces in Kentucky. The Confederates would then have to retire from Kentucky and give up their forts on the Mississippi above Tennessee, because they would be unable to supply them with provisions. A fleet of river gunboats was fitted out by the Union side, to operate on these rivers, with Commodores Rodgers and Foote in command. This was ready by January, 1862.

467. The First Confederate Line of Defense. — The Confederate line of defense reached from Columbus, on the Mississippi, to Cumberland Gap, in the Alleghany Mountains. General Polk held Columbus and near-by points with twelve thousand men; General Zollicoffer held Cumberland Gap with six thousand men; and General Albert Sidney Johnston, the commander of all the Confederate forces in the West, had his headquarters at Bowling Green, Kentucky, with about fifteen thousand men. The Unionists thought he had fully forty thousand. The Confederates built two strong forts in Tennessee, Forts Henry and Donelson, on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers.

468. The Union Forces in the West. — The Union forces were under General Halleck, at St. Louis, and General Buell, with headquarters at Louisville. The "war governors" in the West, Yates of Illinois, Morton of Indiana, and Dennison of Ohio, were full of zeal for the Union. They were active in raising men and supplies, and by January, 1862, Halleck and

Buell could muster one hundred thousand men well armed and equipped. The Confederates had less than seventy-five thousand with which to hold Kentucky and Tennessee. The Federals also had the river fleet.



MILITARY SITUATION IN THE WEST, 1862.

469. Battle of Mill Springs, January 19, 1862.—The Confederates under General Zollicoffer took the offensive and attacked General George H. Thomas at Mill Springs (January 19, 1862). They were totally defeated, losing guns, prisoners, and stores. Zollicoffer was killed and his forces retired to Tennessee. This was a small battle, with only about four thousand men on each side, but the result encouraged the Union arms everywhere. General Thomas proved to be one of the greatest generals of the war.

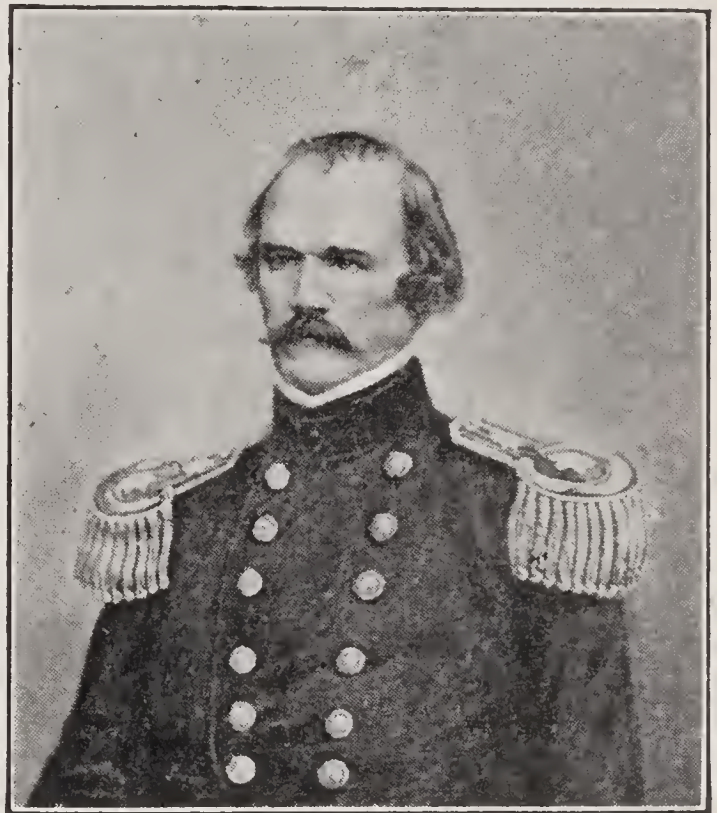
470. Forts Henry and Donelson.—General Grant, with the troops, and Commodore Foote, with the gunboats, next attacked Fort Henry on the Tennessee. The gunboats easily reduced the fort, the Confederate forces retiring to Fort Donelson, twelve miles east on the Cumberland. A week later, after the gunboats had come around into the Cumberland, the Union forces were ready for a combined attack on Donelson. But the fleet was repulsed by the guns of the fort, and Grant thought that he would have to settle down for a siege. However, Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner, the Confederate commanders, decided to try to cut their way out and open the road to Nashville. Through Grant's generalship, and after desperate fighting, they were defeated. Floyd and Pillow turned the command over to Buckner and fled. Buckner asked Grant for terms of surrender. "No terms except unconditional surrender; I propose to move immediately upon your works," replied Grant. Buckner was forced to surrender. With Fort Donelson he gave up twelve thousand men, forty guns, and many military stores.

471. The Victory of Fort Donelson, a Turning Point in the War.—Donelson was one of the turning points of the war. It was the first great Union victory, and the North was jubilant. The Southwest was thrown into a panic of alarm. Their whole system of defense was broken up. The Confederates had to abandon Bowling Green and Columbus, and to evacuate Nashville. All of Kentucky and most of Tennessee came under Federal control. Chattanooga, the key of East Tennessee, lay open to invasion on one side, and Vicksburg, the only strong point on the lower Mississippi, lay unprotected on the other. Of the Confederate army of the West, part had been captured, part was retreating before the army of Buell, and part was shut up in fortified places on the upper Mississippi, their capture being only a question of time, now that their supplies were soon to be cut off. The victory resulted in a Union advance of over two hundred miles into the territory of the enemy, and it set at rest all doubt about the position of Kentucky in the conflict. Secretary Chase said, "The underpinning of the Confederacy

seems to be knocked from under it." "Unconditional Surrender" Grant was the hero of the hour. He deserved the praise he received, and was promoted by Lincoln.

472. The Confederates rally at Corinth, Mississippi. — The Confederates soon recovered from their defeat and again rallied their forces. Corinth, Mississippi, now became their center and base of operations. From here they could send supplies by rail to Chattanooga eastward, and to New Madrid and Island No. 10 northward, where the Confederates had strong works that were being attacked and besieged by the Union forces under General Pope. To open the Mississippi it was necessary for the Unionists to capture these places (see map, p. 397).

473. The Battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing, April 6, 7, 1862. — Soon the Confederates had forty thousand men at Corinth under Johnston, Beauregard, and Bragg. By April, Grant had advanced to Pittsburg Landing with the Army of the Tennessee, forty-five thousand strong. Buell had occupied Nashville with the Army of the Cumberland, thirty-seven thousand strong, and he was now marching across the country from Nashville to Pittsburg Landing to join Grant. With their combined forces Grant and Buell would advance on Corinth and overwhelm the Confederates. Johnston decided to take the aggressive, to attack and crush Grant's army before Buell could arrive. Grant's army was in danger, but the Union commanders did not seem to be aware of



ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON.

Confederate general; born in Kentucky, Feb. 3, 1803; killed at Shiloh, April 6, 1862. He served in the war for Texan independence and in the Mexican War. He was one of the great soldiers of the Civil War. A monument is erected to his honor in New Orleans, bearing the inscription, "A man tried in many high offices and critical enterprises and found faithful in all. No country ever had a truer son, no cause a nobler champion, no people a bolder defender than the dead soldier."

it. They had erected no fortifications nor provided a means of retreat. After a rapid march of twenty miles from Corinth, Johnston, on Sunday morning, April 6, 1862, struck the Union army at Shiloh, where was fought one of the bloodiest and most famous battles of the war. On the first day the Union forces were defeated and driven back. The "Hornets' Nest" on the field of Shiloh was the scene of terrific fighting. On the night of that bloody Sunday, Union reënforcements arrived under Buell and on the second day of battle the Confederates were outnumbered. The Unionists recovered their lost ground, and the Confederates were driven from the field, with the loss of ten thousand men and their noble commander, General Albert Sidney Johnston. The Union army lost thirteen thousand. General Grant was criticised for not pursuing and destroying the Confederate army, but he said he had not the heart to urge on his exhausted troops.

The Confederates were now soon forced out of Corinth (May 30), and on the same day that they were defeated at Shiloh General Pope compelled the surrender of Island No. 10. Fort Pillow was soon captured by the Federals (June 4), and the Union gunboats could then advance down the Mississippi to Memphis. Admiral Davis defeated the Confederate fleet in front of that city, and on June 6 the Federal forces occupied Memphis.

474. Capture of New Orleans, April 24, 1862. — By the middle of June, 1862, Vicksburg and Port Hudson, two hundred miles below, were the only points on the Mississippi held by the Confederates. New Orleans was captured by the Federal forces (April 24, 1862) after Admiral Farragut made his famous run past the forts, St. Philip and Jackson, below the city. For six days Farragut's fleet had bombarded the forts without effect, but after the Union admiral made his perilous passage of the forts and destroyed the Confederate gunboats the city was doomed. New Orleans passed into the control of a Federal military force of fifteen thousand men commanded by General Benjamin F. Butler.

475. Bragg invades Kentucky. Battles of Perryville and of Murfreesboro. — Bragg succeeded Beauregard as Confederate commander in the West. He moved his army eastward past Buell's lines toward Chattanooga, and then started northward on a bold invasion of Kentucky, marching directly toward Louisville. Buell hastened after him, and reached Louisville first. Bragg foraged for supplies and booty for a month, and then retired southward. Buell pursued with reënforcements, and at Perryville, Kentucky, an indecisive battle was fought (October 8, 1862). General Rosecrans now succeeded Buell in command of the Union forces. Bragg left his booty at Chattanooga and marched toward Nashville, fortifying Murfreesboro. Here he was attacked by Rosecrans in one of the hardest-fought battles of the war. This three days' battle at Murfreesboro, or Stone River (Dec. 31, 1862; Jan. 1, 2, 1863), was not very decisive. The Union forces lost about fourteen thousand, the Confederates about eleven thousand, and while the Confederates were forced from the field the Federals were unable to pursue.

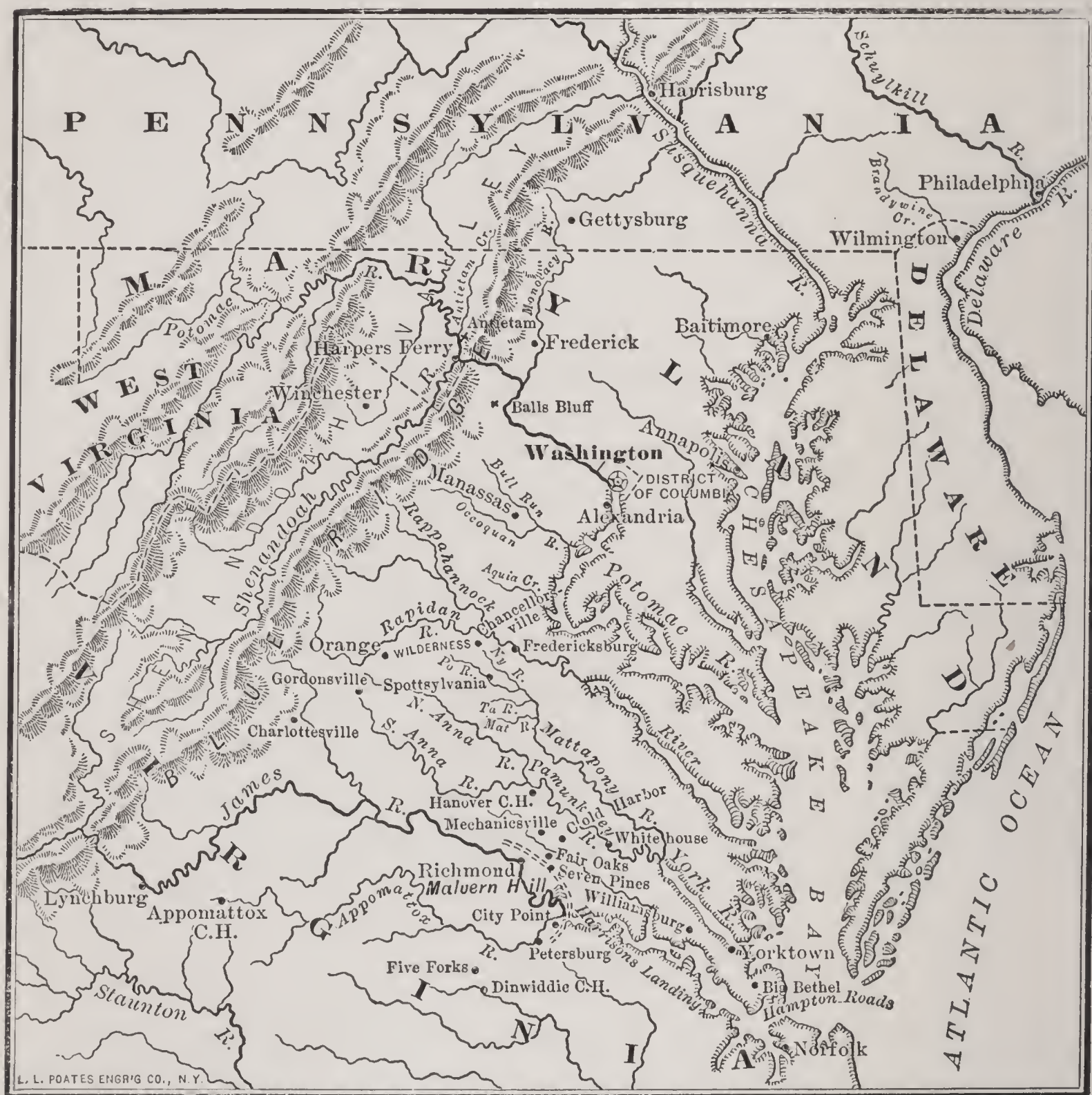
Meanwhile Grant and Sherman were with the army of the Tennessee at Corinth. They repulsed Confederate attacks by Price and Van Dorn in battles at Corinth and Iuka, but they failed in their efforts to take Vicksburg at this time.

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

476. McClellan decides to attack Richmond from the South. — Let us now return to McClellan and the grand army of the Potomac in the East. McClellan had now a fine army of two hundred thousand men. The Confederates had less than one hundred thousand under General Joseph E. Johnston. The Northern people were impatient for action. They believed the "quiet on the Potomac" should give place to fighting.

It was March, 1862, before McClellan was ready to move. Instead of advancing directly from the north, a route by which he would have several rivers to cross, McClellan decided to

transport his troops by boat, land at Fortress Monroe, take Yorktown, and march on Richmond from the southeast, up the peninsula between the York and James rivers. Therefore, this is called the "Peninsular Campaign." Lincoln and Stanton,



THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

Secretary of War, required McClellan to leave a force of seventy-five thousand men under Banks, Fremont, and McDowell to protect Washington and to guard against a Confederate invasion down the Shenandoah.

When McClellan began his advance toward Richmond, after a month's siege at Yorktown, he found his way blocked by

Confederate forces behind intrenchments and fortifications. Johnston had transferred his army from Manassas and was ready to meet McClellan. McClellan was expecting McDowell to come down in the rear of the Confederates from the north, but, as we shall see, he was to be disappointed in this expectation. By the last of May, McClellan came within ten miles of Richmond, and at Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, a severe battle was fought. Johnston was wounded and his forces repulsed. The advanced guard of the Union forces now came within sight of the spires of Richmond, only three miles away. Military critics say if McClellan had moved with energy and promptness he could have entered Richmond on June 1, but he settled down to recuperate and await reënforcements. General Robert E. Lee now succeeded the wounded Johnston in command of the Confederate forces. McClellan gave him time to organize and fortify.

**Battle of
Fair Oaks,
May, 1862.**

477. "Stonewall" Jackson's Raids, 1862.—Meanwhile "Stonewall" Jackson had been making some of his terrible raids. Lee's plan was to make Lincoln fear a counter invasion, prevent McDowell from joining McClellan, and if the Washington authorities did not recall McClellan, Jackson's forces should quickly join Lee's, and the two combined would destroy or capture McClellan's army. It was a brilliant plan and was brilliantly executed. Jackson defeated Banks and Fremont and Shields, in rapid succession, by quick marches. In thirty-five days Jackson marched two hundred and forty-five miles, won three battles, broke up three separate Union forces, overawed Washington, kept McDowell's forty thousand men from joining McClellan, and brought his forces up to coöperate with Lee in defense of Richmond.

478. The "Seven Days' Battle."—Lee was now ready to attack McClellan, and the "Seven Days' Battle" followed (June 26–July 1, 1862). There was severe fighting every day. The hard battle of Malvern Hill (July 1) ended the series. The Confederates were defeated in this battle, but McClellan's Peninsular Campaign had failed, and in August he was recalled to Washington. In the seven days' fighting Mc-

**McClellan
failed.**

Clellan had lost about sixteen thousand men, the Confederates about twenty thousand.

479. Pope and the Second Battle of Bull Run. — Halleck was called from the West to take command of all the Union forces. A new army of forty thousand men, called the army of Virginia, was now organized. General John Pope was placed in command. The Confederates called him "Proclamation Pope," because of the proclamations he kept issuing, telling of the great things he was going to do. Lee and Jackson raided his supplies, and in the Second Battle of Bull Run (August 29, 1862) inflicted on his army a decisive defeat and drove his forces back to the defenses of Washington. Here he was joined by McClellan and the army of the Potomac.

480. The Battle of Antietam. — Elated by success, the Confederates now hoped to carry the war into the North. Lee crossed the Potomac into Maryland. McClellan pursued, and at Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek, September 17, 1862, occurred a great battle. McClellan had about forty-six thousand men engaged, Lee only thirty-one thousand. "More men were killed and wounded on that 17th of September than on any other single day in the whole war." The Confederates lost nine thousand, the Unionists twelve thousand. It was a drawn battle, but it had the effect of a Union victory, for Lee retired across the Potomac, and his invasion of Maryland failed.

481. The Battle of Fredericksburg. — McClellan was now superseded in command by General A. E. Burnside. Burnside rashly led his army against impregnable fortifications at Fredericksburg, and in a single battle (December 13, 1862) lost thirteen thousand men, while the Confederates lost only four thousand. This horrible slaughter led to Burnside's dismissal, and "Fighting Joe" Hooker was appointed to command the army of the Potomac.

EMANCIPATION

482. Politics and Slavery. — We have seen what the President and Congress regarded as the object of the war (§ 449). It

was to save the Union, not to abolish slavery. What Lincoln did about slavery, he did for the purpose of saving the Union. He was pulled two ways. Radical antislavery men in the North, knowing that slavery was the cause of the war, believed it would never be brought to a successful end until slavery was abolished. They were constantly urging Lincoln to direct the war against slavery. General Fremont in Missouri, and General Hunter in the Southeast, declared the slaves in their departments free, but Lincoln overruled them. This displeased the antislavery men. But Lincoln knew there were conservative Union men, especially in the border states, who would withdraw their support from the war if it were shown to be a war for abolition.

President Lincoln overrules Generals Fremont and Hunter, who had declared negroes free.

483. What shall be done with Escaping Slaves? — In the very beginning of the war the problem arose as to what the Union generals should do with slaves coming within their lines. General Halleck, General McClellan, and several others believed in returning them to their masters; but this would be merely to increase the fighting strength of the enemy, and allow the slaves to be used to destroy the Union. In May, 1861, General Benjamin F. Butler declared that the slaves were “contraband of war”; that is, property good for war purposes, and which is, therefore, subject to capture and confiscation by the enemy. Butler kept the negroes that came to his camp, and set them to work for the Union cause. Negroes were thereafter known as “contrabands.” The government finally approved this policy.

General Butler declares them “contraband of war.”

484. Compensated Emancipation. — In the spring of 1862, Lincoln proposed the plan of compensated emancipation, to bring about gradual abolition in the border states. He proposed that the United States should pay the masters for their slaves if these states would assent to the plan. If this would shorten the war, as Lincoln thought, it would be economy, because a few months’ war expenses would pay for all the slaves. Congress indorsed the plan, but the border

states resented it, and refused to coöperate, and the plan failed. Lincoln said they would have been wiser to accept the proposal, for the value of "two-legged property" was becoming very uncertain.

485. The First Confiscation Act, August 3, 1861. — On August 3, 1861, Congress passed a confiscation act. This authorized the President to seize and confiscate any property used in aid of the rebellion, and if any master allowed his slaves to be used in any service hostile to the United States the slaves were to be set free.

486. Slavery abolished in the District of Columbia and prohibited in the Territories. — In April, 1862, Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, and on June 19, 1862, an act was passed prohibiting slavery in all the territories of the United States. Thus the primary principle of the Republican party was finally carried out, in spite of the Dred Scott decision. On July 17, 1862, a second confiscation act was passed, pronouncing the death penalty against "traitors," and providing for seizing the property and freeing the slaves of all who were "aiding or abetting" the rebellion. The fearful loss of life and the bloodshed and suffering of the war had aroused a very bitter feeling, and many Northern men said the leaders of the rebellion should be hanged and the property and slaves of the South taken away.

487. Lincoln resolves on Emancipation. — The time had now come for Lincoln to "hit slavery hard." He had come to believe that the destruction of slavery was necessary to the restoration of the Union. He determined to destroy it. He made known his purpose to the Cabinet in July, 1862. Secretary Seward persuaded him to wait for a Union victory. Lincoln said he had promised God that as soon as victory came to the Union arms he would free the slaves. So after the victory of Antietam, and when Lee had been forced back into Virginia, Lincoln issued, on September 22, 1862, his preliminary proclamation, declaring that on January 1, 1863, "all persons held as slaves in any state the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against

the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free."

The rebellious states paid no attention to this proclamation, and, accordingly, on January 1, 1863, the formal Emancipation Proclamation was issued, as a war power, for the suppression of the rebellion. It freed only the slaves of the Confederate states where the Union armies could enforce it. The border states freed their own slaves (Missouri, in 1863; Maryland, in 1864), or their slaves were freed by the thirteenth amendment.

Emanci-
pation Proc-
lamation,
January 1,
1863.

The Emancipation Proclamation is an historic document. It made Lincoln immortal. By it he gave slavery a deadly wound. After he announced this policy of military emancipation, it was known to all the world that every step of the Union arms toward victory meant the liberty of the slave. The Union armies were now fighting for both "liberty and union," and thousands of the slaves were soon called to arms to help save the Union and to fight for their own freedom.

488. Party Opposition to the War in the North.—All these political events and this antislavery policy aroused political opposition in the North. There were "War Democrats," who coöperated with the Republicans in supporting Lincoln's administration, but many Democrats who stood for the Union were offended at many things that had occurred. They said the war was being turned from a war for the Union into a war for the "nigger." They insisted that the war must be conducted without violating the Constitution or the rights of the states, or interfering in any way with slavery. They wanted "the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was"; they did not like confiscation or emancipation. They especially disliked the vast war power which the President had been exercising. Lincoln had suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, made arbitrary arrests, imprisoned citizens without trial, suppressed newspapers, and arrested political leaders and writers who criticised the administration. All this seemed like dangerous, one-man power.

President's
great "war
power."

489. Democrats gain in Election of 1862. — The result of all this opposition was that in the fall elections of 1862, many states that had voted for Lincoln in 1860 went against his administration. The Democrats carried Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and elected Horatio Seymour governor of New York. The year 1862 closed with Mr. Lincoln's administration defeated in politics, while the Confederate armies were triumphant in the East and were holding their own in the West. Foreign powers were thinking of intervening, of breaking the blockade, and of recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy. It seemed a dark hour for the Union.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE CIVIL WAR: THE LAST TWO YEARS

THE WAR IN THE EAST AGAIN

490. Battle of Chancellorsville. Death of "Stonewall" Jackson. — After "Fighting Joe" Hooker received command of the army of the Potomac, several months were spent in reorganizing and recruiting. By May, 1863, he had a fine army of one hundred and twenty-five thousand men. He was attacked and defeated in the great battle of Chancellorsville (May 2-3, 1863). Hooker lost seventeen thousand men. The Confederate loss was less, but they lost their great leader, Stonewall Jackson, who was accidentally shot by his own men. Lee said he felt as if he had lost his right arm in losing Jackson.

491. Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863. — Lee now prepared for a second invasion of the North. With a fine army of seventy thousand men, enthusiastic and elated by victory, he passed around Hooker's army (which had begun to fall back to defend Washington), went down the Shenandoah, and through Maryland into Pennsylvania. The North was alarmed. The militia were called to arms. Hooker's army, one hundred thousand strong, pursued Lee to head him off, if possible, from Harrisburg and Philadelphia. At this juncture Hooker was removed at his own request and General George G. Meade placed in command. The two great armies met on the famous field of Gettysburg, and after a fearful battle of three days (July 1-3, 1863) Lee's army was defeated and forced to retreat southward.

Gettysburg is the greatest and most famous battle of the war. It was the only battle fought on Northern soil. It was the scene of Pickett's celebrated charge, one of the most superb

in the history of war. With fifteen thousand men, the flower of the Southern army, Pickett charged over an open plain up Cemetery Ridge, defended by the troops of General Hancock. The ranks of Pickett's men were plowed by shot and shell, but they marched on, some of them up to the very ramparts behind which Hancock's men were standing. Here men fought hand to hand for the possession of the field. The Union position was too strong, and the Confederates were repulsed.



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT GETTYSBURG.

Soldiers' Monument in the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, dedicated Nov. 19, 1863. Scene of Lincoln's famous Address. Edward Everett was the noted orator chosen to speak at the dedication of the monument. Lincoln was expected "to show himself and to say a few words." When Lincoln congratulated Everett, the orator replied, "Ah, Mr. President, how gladly would I exchange all my hundred pages to have been the author of your twenty lines!"

The best blood of America, of nearly fifty thousand brave men, reddened the field of Gettysburg. Twenty-three thousand brave "Boys in Blue" there laid down their lives for their country, and twenty thousand brave "Boys in Gray" died for the cause they thought was right. The battlefield of Gettysburg is now a national cemetery. Many monuments commem-

orate the valor and patriotism shown on that great field of war.

492. Lincoln's Speech at Gettysburg.—On November 19, 1863, a soldiers' monument was dedicated at Gettysburg by the nation, and President Lincoln made an immortal speech, a speech that Americans should ever remember:—

“Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

Gettysburg marked the high tide of the Confederacy. Nearly two more years of war were required before the South laid down its arms, but the Confederates were never again so strong and dangerous as they were on that memorable July 3, 1863.

The high
tide of the
Confeder-
acy.

493. The Fall of Vicksburg.—On the day that Gettysburg was won, General Grant received from General Pemberton the

surrender of Vicksburg. Grant and Sherman had been fighting and maneuvering for six months to take this stronghold. Siege and starvation for six weeks had finally forced the Confederates to surrender. Pemberton surrendered thirty thousand prisoners of war, and (after Port Hudson surrendered on July 9) the Mississippi was open its entire length. As Lincoln said, "The Father of Waters flowed unvexed to the sea." The Confederacy was cut in two. Supplies from Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas for the Southern armies could be cut off, and we know now that from that time the Confederacy was doomed. Grant was acknowledged as the foremost Union general.



GENERAL GEORGE HENRY THOMAS.

Born in Virginia, July 31, 1816; died in San Francisco, March 28, 1870. Graduated at West Point in 1840, in the class with General Sherman; served in the Mexican War; in 1861 espoused the cause of the Union against his state; won the title, "The Rock of Chickamauga," and at Nashville, 1864, his victory over Hood was the most decisive gained by either side during the war.

war. Rosecrans's right wing was shattered, his army defeated, and he was forced back into Chattanooga. The Union army lost seventeen thousand men, the Confederates about the same number. The center of the Union line under General George H. Thomas stubbornly held its ground and saved the army from disaster, and because of this "Old Pap Thomas," as the

494. Battle of Chickamauga. —

Let us return to the armies in Tennessee. After the battle of Murfreesboro (§ 475) Bragg retired before Rosecrans into Chattanooga. In the summer of 1863 he was forced to evacuate that place. He retired about twelve miles south into Georgia, and Rosecrans supposed he was retreating to Atlanta. But Bragg had received reënforcements from Lee, and he was ready for a fight. On Chickamauga Creek (September 19–20) occurred one of the most desperate battles of the

soldiers called him, won the title of "The Rock of Chickamauga."

495. Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. — Rosecrans was now besieged in Chattanooga. His supplies were almost cut off. Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge were held by the Confederates. A Union force under General Burnside at Knoxville was besieged by General Longstreet. There was no road by which the Union army could retreat, and only one single "cracker trail," as the road was called, was open for supplies to the army in Chattanooga. It seemed for a time as if Rosecrans would be compelled to surrender his whole army.

Hooker, from the army of the Potomac, and Grant and Sherman, from the siege of Vicksburg, came to the rescue. On November 24, 1863, Hooker stormed Lookout Mountain; and in the "battle above the clouds," so high up the mountain side that his troops were hidden by fog and mist from the soldiers in the valley below, he carried the Confederate works by assault. At the same time Sherman and Thomas carried the Confederate defenses of Missionary Ridge. Communication was opened with Chattanooga, and Bragg retreated southward to Dalton, Georgia. Sherman relieved Burnside in Knoxville, and Longstreet retreated east to rejoin Lee's army.

496. Grant faces Lee around Richmond. — These Union victories closed the fighting for a season. They raised General Grant into still greater favor, and in March, 1864, he was called to Washington and was made commander-in-chief of all the armies of the United States.

After Gettysburg, the Army of the Potomac followed Lee on his retreat to Virginia, and for almost a year the armies faced one another in position on the banks of the Rappahannock and the Rapidan. When Grant came to confront Lee in Virginia in the spring of 1864, the final year's struggle of the war began. General Sherman was in command of the Union forces in the West, facing General Joseph E. Johnston (who had succeeded Bragg) around Dalton and Atlanta. Grant and Sherman agreed to press the enemy at the same time, to give the

armies in front of them constantly enough to do so that neither could send aid to the other.

497. The Wilderness and Spottsylvania. — Grant's army facing Lee numbered one hundred and fifty thousand men. General Butler was coming up the James toward Richmond with thirty thousand more. Lee had only seventy-five thousand men to meet these forces. In May, Grant's army entered the Wilderness, the region between the Rapidan and the James. Here (from May 5 to 18) there were several days of terrible fighting in the battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania. Grant's purpose was to get between Lee's army and Richmond. By skillful generalship Lee prevented this. Every time Grant attempted to take his army around to attack one side of Lee's, the Confederate commander fell back to a new line of defense. By these flanking movements Grant pressed Lee back to the defenses of Richmond, and he then resolved to resort again to a direct attack in front. On June 4, 1864, at Cold Harbor, the very center of Lee's fortifications, Grant made a last desperate effort to win the Confederate position by assault. Within twenty minutes the Union army was repulsed with terrible slaughter, losing eight thousand men.

Battle of
Cold Har-
bor.

Grant
hammers
away in
the Wilder-
ness.

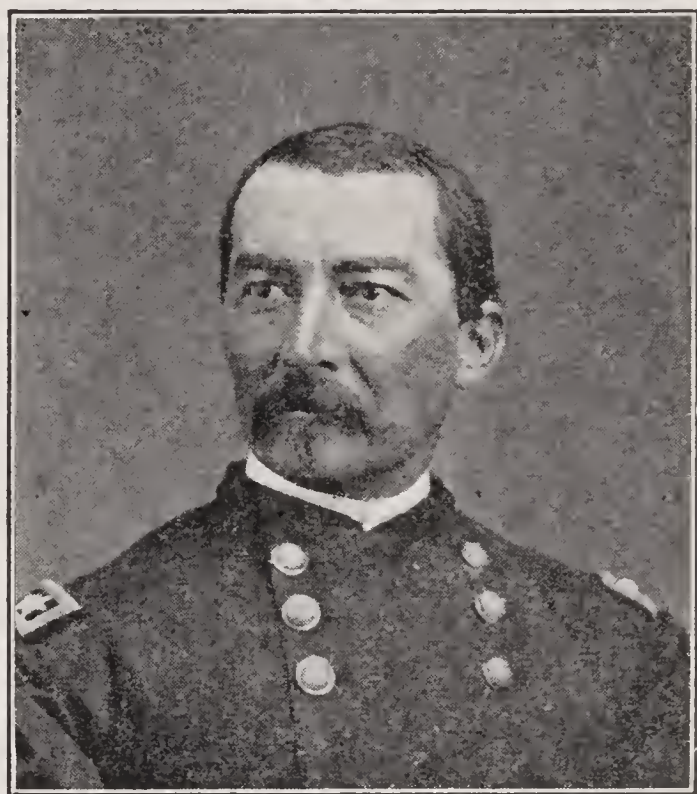
ing in the Wilderness Grant sent President Lincoln his famous telegram, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." He meant that he would hammer and batter Lee's lines until he broke through by sheer fighting force and weight of numbers. The "hammering process" meant assaulting and fighting in the open. Lee was using fortifications and more military strategy. It was costing Grant two or three men to Lee's one. Within less than six weeks Grant had lost nearly forty thousand men; Lee not half so many.

498. Early's Raid in the Shenandoah. — Lee now tried again to relieve Richmond by threatening Washington. He sent General Jubal Early with a force of twenty thousand men to

menace the Federal capital, hoping Grant would withdraw a part of his army from Richmond for the defense of Washington. Early went down the Shenandoah, defeated a Federal force at Monocacy River under General Lew Wallace (July 9), and pushed on within a few miles of Washington. The people in Washington were again frightened, but forces from Grant's army came up in time to prevent Early's capturing the city. Early sent a raid into Pennsylvania and burned Chambersburg in retaliation, as he said, for General Hunter's destruction of private property in the Shenandoah valley.

Washington and the North were uneasy while Confederate forces were in the Shenandoah valley. Grant now ordered Sheridan to drive Early out, and to lay waste the Shenandoah valley, — “to destroy what he could not consume.” He wanted to prevent the valley from being used for future raids and to destroy it as a granary of supplies for the Confederate armies. Sheridan defeated Early near Winchester (on Opequon Creek, September 19, 1864) and again at Fisher's Creek two days later.

The Confederates retreated up the valley, and Sheridan made a “barren waste” of the country for miles around. He utterly destroyed grain, forage, barns, agricultural tools, and drove off all the stock. Two thousand barns and seventy mills filled with grain were thus destroyed. It was said that a crow flying over the valley would be obliged to carry his own dinner.



PHILIP HENRY SHERIDAN.

A famous Union general of the Civil War. Born in Albany, New York, March 6, 1831; died Aug. 5, 1888. Graduated at West Point, 1853; fought at Perryville, Stone River, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, the Wilderness, and Cold Harbor; won renown in the Shenandoah campaign against General Early, 1864; was Grant's chief lieutenant in bringing about the final surrender of Lee at Appomattox, April, 1865. His “Memoirs” tell his war history.

Early was soon out of supplies and had to fight for his rations. He planned to surprise the Union army. At Cedar Creek (October 19, 1864), by an unexpected onset, his men hurled the Union troops back in confused retreat, almost in a stampede. Sheridan was absent in Winchester, twenty miles away. By his famous ride he came dashing to the scene of battle just in time to reform and encourage the troops and save the day. "Come on, boys, we are all right," he shouted, as he galloped along the line waving his hat. "We'll whip them yet and sleep in our old quarters to-night." Sheridan stemmed the tide, turned defeat into victory, and with the battle of Cedar Creek ended forever the Confederate raids in the Shenandoah valley.

Battle of
Cedar
Creek.
Sheridan's
Ride.

With Washington safe, the North relieved from all fear of further invasion, and Grant tightening the coils around Lee at Petersburg and Richmond, we leave the forces in the East near the close of 1864.

POLITICS: ELECTION OF 1864

499. Opposition to the War. — In the summer of 1864, when Grant seemed unable to defeat Lee and capture Richmond, and before Sherman had captured Atlanta, opposition to the war in the North seemed stronger than ever. A great debt was piling up, taxation was becoming heavy, United States stocks were selling at forty cents on the dollar, drafting was about to be renewed, thousands of lives were being sacrificed, the Confederate armies were not defeated, and the people were unable to see the end. Horace Greeley wrote to President Lincoln that the whole American people were anxious for peace, — "peace on almost any terms." "Our bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country longs for peace; shudders at the prospect of fresh conscriptions, of further wholesale devastations, and of new rivers of human blood."

500. Lincoln was blamed for continuing the War. — Lincoln was ready for peace at any time that the South would lay down





its arms, acknowledge the Union, and abandon slavery. But many people thought President Lincoln ought to acknowledge the authority of the Confederacy by negotiating with its agents, or have an armistice for a year and a national convention of all the states to adjust matters and to make some compromise arrangement with the leaders of the rebellion. Lincoln thought no convention or negotiation would be safe or do any good till the authority of the national government was first recognized by all, and that the South would never consent to restore the Union until their armies were beaten in the field.

501. The Draft was opposed. — In 1863 the government had to resort to the draft to fill up the Union armies (Conscription Bill, March 3, 1863). All able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were liable to be drafted and forced to serve in the army or pay for a substitute. The President called for three hundred thousand troops in May, and for three hundred thousand more in October, 1863. These new levies and the draft were very unpopular. In many places the draft officers were resisted. In New York City, in July, 1863, a great mob controlled the city for several days, preventing the draft, burning houses, and killing negroes. Federal troops were required to put down the mob.

502. Arrest of Vallandigham. — The “Peace Democrats” denounced the war in Congress and on the stump. One of their leaders in Ohio, Clement L. Vallandigham, was arrested for making a bitter speech against Lincoln and military law in the North. Vallandigham was condemned to imprisonment by a court martial, but Lincoln changed the punishment and sent him across the lines to his friends in the Confederacy. A secret society, known as “The Knights of the Golden Circle,” was organized in opposition to the war. It was specially strong in Ohio and Indiana. Its members were known as “Copperheads,” or “Butternuts,” and they generally sympathized with the South.

503. General McClellan nominated for President. — The Democratic party was controlled by the men who were opposed to

“Copperheads” oppose the war.

continuing the war. They blamed Lincoln for the draft, for violating the Constitution, for removing McClellan, for not bringing the war to an end, for imprisoning men without trial, for interfering with military force in elections, for refusing to exchange prisoners, for setting the slaves free, and for enlisting negro soldiers. They said they would meet the South with negotiation instead of subjugation. In a national convention they declared that the "war was a failure as a means of restoring the Union," and they nominated George B. McClellan for President and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for Vice President.

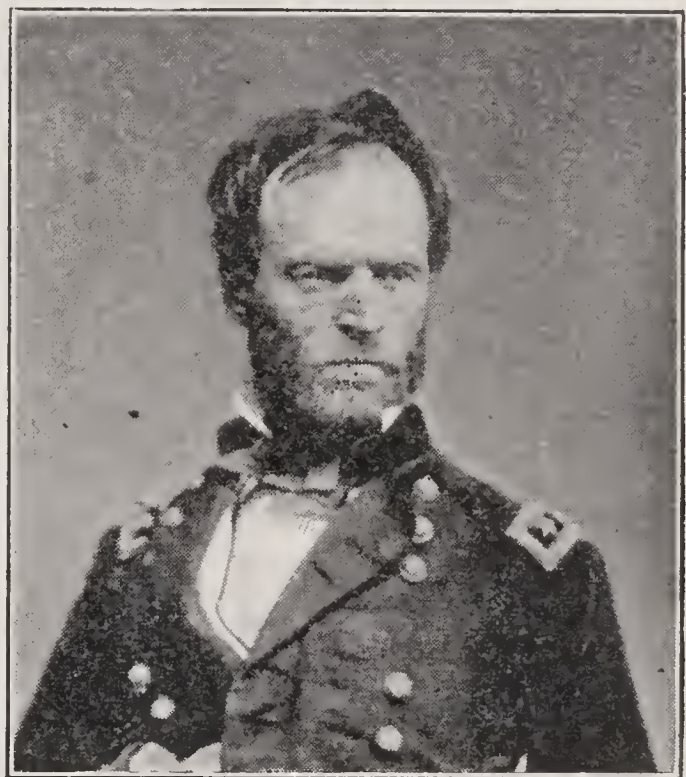
504. Lincoln renominated. — The "Union-National" party, as the Republicans called themselves that year, renominated Lincoln for President and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for Vice President. They demanded the suppression of the rebellion by a vigorous prosecution of the war. The party was not at first united on Lincoln. Many radical antislavery men were still displeased with him. They thought he was too slow; or they were afraid he would compromise and restore the Union on terms that were too easy and without making sure of abolishing slavery. They wanted the party to nominate Chase instead. Failing to secure this, they then nominated a ticket (Fremont and Cochrane) in opposition to Lincoln, but these candidates withdrew before the election.

505. Lincoln reëlected. — On account of the imprisonment of citizens in the North without trial, and because of the violation of the freedom of speech and of the press, many loyal Union men voted for McClellan, but Lincoln was triumphantly reëlected. McClellan carried only three states, — New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. Lincoln carried all the rest of the Northern states, and had two hundred and twelve electoral votes to McClellan's forty-two. The Confederate states, of course, took no part in this election.

The election meant that the war should go on until the South submitted. It left the South without hope of further success, for as soon as Lincoln was reëlected the war was pushed with more energy than ever by the national forces.

FINAL MOVEMENTS OF THE WAR

506. Sherman advances on Atlanta. — As Grant entered the Wilderness, Sherman began his advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta (May 4, 1864). Sherman had one hundred thousand seasoned soldiers. He was opposed by General Joseph E. Johnston with an army of about sixty-five thousand men. There were several assaults and severe battles, at Resaca (May 14–15, 1864), at Dallas (May 25–28), at Kenesaw Mountain (June 27). Sherman generally lost much more heavily than Johnston in these engagements. At Kenesaw he lost five to Johnston's one. This repulse showed Sherman how useless it was to hurl his soldiers against intrenched lines of musketry. He tried to turn Johnston's flanks; that is, to throw his troops around the ends of Johnston's lines and attack him on one side or in the rear. As often as Sherman attempted this, Johnston fell back to another line of fortifications. Johnston thought the farther south Sherman came, the weaker he would be, because he would have to leave men all along the line to guard the single railroad over which his supplies came, and would have to build and guard his tunnels. Johnston could then give battle under more favorable circumstances, and he had planned to do so.



WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN.

One of the ablest Union generals of the Civil War. Born in Lancaster, Ohio, Feb. 8, 1820; died in New York, Feb. 14, 1891. Graduated at West Point, 1840; served in California, 1849; taught in the Louisiana Military Academy, 1860; fought at Bull Run, Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Atlanta. He was called "crazy" for saying at the beginning of the war that it would take two hundred thousand men and four years to subdue the South. His "Memoirs" contain the story of his life and of his part in the Civil War, and of his famous "March from Atlanta to the Sea."

But the Southern people who did not understand this retreating policy were impatient for more aggressive action, and

President Davis, who disliked Johnston, removed him from command and put General J. B. Hood in his place. Hood had a reputation as a fighter, but he lacked the discretion of Johnston. He did what was expected of him. He made three furious but rash attacks on Sherman's forces around Atlanta, was defeated each time, and was compelled to surrender the city.

507. Thomas in Tennessee. — Hood marched north into Tennessee, hoping to draw Sherman after him for the defense of his supplies. But Sherman thought it useless to pursue Hood. He thought Jefferson Davis wanted to "decoy him out of Georgia," and he did not propose to turn back and lose the effect of his campaign. He had sent Thomas with a part of the army to Nashville, and he thought the "Rock of Chickamauga" would be able to take care of Hood. As Hood pressed northward with his army of fifty-four thousand men, Thomas gathered his forces around Nashville. A drawn battle was fought at Franklin (November 30, 1864), the Confederates losing heavily, — six thousand men. Hood advanced farther toward Nashville.

The War Office and the country were impatient at Thomas's slowness, but that commander knew how to wait and get ready. The government was about to put General John A. Logan in his place, and Thomas said he would resign, but he would not fight before he was ready. He bided his time, and when the time was ripe he struck. In the battle of Nashville (December 15, 16, 1864) he utterly defeated and overwhelmed Hood's forces. Thomas pursued so vigorously that Hood's army was scattered into remnants. Thomas had accomplished one of the most decisive successes of the war, for the Confederate army in the West was now completely overthrown and destroyed, and there was no material out of which another could be made.

508. The March to the Sea. — There was now no Southern army to oppose Sherman. That great commander, after leaving Hood in the care of Thomas, turned to carry out a plan which he had long had in mind. It was to march from Atlanta to the

sea and again cut the Confederacy in two. His objective point was Richmond, a thousand miles away. He would come up from the seaboard, be in the rear of Lee, coöperate with Grant, and end the war. On his march he would tear up the railroads, destroy all munitions of war, the cotton, the factories, the machine shops, and the crops, and thus, as Sheridan had done in the Shenandoah, destroy the resources of the country as a means of continuing the struggle.

Sherman's
object in his
march was
to cut the
Confeder-
acy in two.

On the morning of November 15, 1864, with sixty thousand rugged veterans, Sherman set out from Atlanta. He had an open field to his goal.

"On the 16th," says Sherman in his "Memoirs," "we stood on the very ground whereon was fought the bloody battle of July 22, and could see the copse of wood where McPherson fell. Behind us lay Atlanta, smoldering and in ruins, the black smoke rising high in air and hanging like a pall over the ruined city. Away off

Sherman
tells how
he marched
to the
sea.

in the distance was the rear of Howard's column, the gun barrels glistening in the sun, the white-topped wagons stretching away to the south. . . . Some band by accident struck up the anthem of 'John Brown's soul goes marching on'; the men caught up the strain, and never before or since have I heard the chorus of 'Glory, glory, hallelujah,' done with more spirit or in better harmony of time and place. Even the common soldiers caught the inspiration, and many a group called out to me, 'Uncle Billy, I guess Grant is waiting for us at Richmond.'"

Sherman had cut himself loose from his supplies, and his army had to forage on the country. His soldiers found plenty. Foraging parties would visit every farm and plantation within range. They would procure a wagon or family carriage, load it with bacon, corn meal, turkeys, chickens, ducks, and everything that could be used as food or forage, and bring them in for the army. These foragers were called "Sherman's bummers," and, no doubt, acts of robbery and violence were sometimes committed by them.

Sherman's
foraging
parties.

For days Sherman was cut off from the outside world and no news came from him. On December 12 he reached Savannah. Fort McAllister had to be carried by assault. General Hazen's division carried the fort with a rush, and on December 24 General Hardee surrendered Savannah. Sherman sent Lincoln a message presenting "as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah with one hundred and fifty guns, plenty of ammunition, and about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton."

Sherman
captures
Savannah.

509. Sherman marched through the Carolinas.— Sherman's army stayed in Savannah until February, 1865. It then marched north through the Carolinas. Columbia was burned. The Confederates charged this burning on Sherman's men; Sherman said it was accidental and began with the cotton General Wade Hampton's men had set on fire on leaving the city. It may have been due to drunken soldiers. The Confederate forces now had to evacuate Charleston, since a Union army was in their rear. In North Carolina, Sherman was again confronted by his old antagonist, General J. E. Johnston, whom Jefferson Davis had felt compelled to recall to his command. Johnston had collected a small army of thirty thousand men, made up from the garrisons from Savannah and Charleston and the remnants of Hood's army. In a small battle at Averysboro and a severe one at Bentonville, near Goldsboro, Johnston was defeated. Sherman passed from Goldsboro to Raleigh without opposition, where he awaited news from Grant.

Battles of
Averys-
boro and
Benton-
ville.

510. Naval Operations. Admiral Farragut captures Mobile Bay.— So the year 1864 had all but ended the war. In this year the navy was doing its part of the work. In August, 1864, Admiral Farragut entered Mobile Bay, running past the forts in the harbor as he had done at New Orleans. Lashed to his rigging, above the smoke of battle, Farragut gave his signals. The bay was planted with torpedoes. Farragut signaled, "Never mind the torpedoes, go ahead!" The *Tecumseh* was torpedoed and sunk, but the rest of the fleet of eighteen vessels got through,

captured the ironclad *Tennessee*, silenced the forts, and compelled the surrender of the city. This closed the port of Mobile.

In January, 1865, Fort Fisher fell, and Wilmington, North Carolina, was surrendered. Charleston, the last Confederate port on the Atlantic, had succumbed when Sherman marched into South Carolina. The Confederacy was now only a closed shell, thin and almost empty.

511. The Confederate Privateers. The *Alabama* destroys Northern Commerce. — On the open sea the Confederate cruisers had been doing great damage. These “commerce destroyers” had been scouring the seas in search of Northern merchant vessels. They burnt all they could find, and thousands of dollars’ worth of property was lost by Northern merchants. The most famous of these cruisers was the *Alabama*. The *Alabama* was built in Liverpool. The British government was informed by our minister, Charles Francis Adams, that this vessel was being built for the purpose of preying upon the commerce of the United States. As a friendly neutral, Great Britain was under obligation to prevent her ports from being used in this way. Great Britain did not exercise “due diligence” to prevent the *Alabama* from going to sea, and afterward, in 1873, that government was compelled, by the Geneva award, to pay the United States fifteen million dollars for the damage done by the *Alabama*. For two years the *Alabama* cruised on the Atlantic while the war vessels of the United States tried to catch her.



DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT.

A noted admiral in the American navy. Of Scotch descent, he was born in Tennessee in 1801, and died in New Hampshire, 1870. He entered the navy at nine, and served as midshipman during the War of 1812. In the Civil War he won honor at New Orleans, Vicksburg, and Port Hudson. At Mobile Bay, in August, 1864, he won one of the greatest naval battles of the nineteenth century. He is the first admiral in our history.

At last she was found by the *Kearsarge* in the harbor of Cherbourg, France. Her captain, Semmes, challenged Captain Winslow of the *Kearsarge* to fight. The challenge was accepted, and after a short engagement the *Alabama* was sunk in the English Channel (June 19, 1864). The sea was now clear from these destroyers of commerce.

Alabama
sunk in
English
Channel,
June 19,
1864.

512. Grant captures Richmond. — At the beginning of 1865 Grant was holding Lee fast in Petersburg and Richmond. Lee could hope for no reënforcements, and his supplies were running short. The blockade and the destruction of supplies by the Union armies were starving the Confederacy. Obviously, the end was near; the South was about exhausted. At Five Forks the forces fought (March 31 and April 1), as Grant attempted to seize Lee's railway communications. The Confederates were beaten back. Lee had but fifty thousand men; Grant more than twice as many. As Grant's forces increased, Lee had to lengthen his line of defense. The line became so thin — one man to every seven yards — it could no longer withstand assault. The line was broken through (April 2), and the Union troops then occupied the Confederate capital.

513. Lee surrenders to Grant at Appomattox. — Lee's purpose was to retreat southward and unite with Johnston. But his weary men were without food, and the Federals were in close pursuit. The Confederates were despondent. Many dropped out of the ranks, threw away their arms, and took to the woods in the hope of reaching home. Lee's grand army of northern Virginia was now reduced to twenty-eight thousand men. It was hemmed in by the Union forces at Appomattox Court House, where, on April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered his army to General Grant. Grant put his terms of surrender in writing. They were most generous. Lee's officers were to retain their horses and side arms, and they and their men were to be released on parole on the condition that they were not to fight any more against the United States. On April 26 Johnston surrendered to Sherman on the same terms.

The Confederate soldiers had done all they could for their cause, and in their final defeat, as in their many well-earned victories, their courage and devotion commanded the respect and honor of their countrymen and of all the world.

The North was full of rejoicing at Lee's surrender. Bonfires, illuminations, and jubilees were held in every city and town. The people were heartily tired of bloodshed and war, and they had a deep and abiding joy now that peace had come.

514. Assassination of President Lincoln. — From this joy the nation was thrown into the deepest gloom and sorrow by the assassination of President Lincoln. On the evening of April 14, 1865, the President went to Ford's Theater for rest and recreation. John Wilkes Booth, a sentimental actor, who sympathized with the South, and who wished notoriety, gained access to the President's box in the theater and shot him in the head. President Lincoln died the next morning, Saturday, April 15. At the same time an attempt was made on the life of Secretary Seward, and he was severely wounded. This seemed like a conspiracy, and the people of the North felt that it was but the last act of a wicked rebellion. The people were intensely angry and many of them felt revengeful. Booth was pursued and shot. Four other conspirators were hanged and four imprisoned.

515. Cost of the War. — The war was over, but no man can estimate its cost. By the middle of 1863 it was costing the national government \$3,000,000 a day. It left a national debt of \$2,850,000,000. Taxation produced \$800,000,000 more for war expenses. When one thinks of the debts and expenses of the Confederacy, and of the Northern states; of private losses and contributions; of the millions paid in pensions; of the loss of property at sea from the Confederate privateers; of the destruction and waste that came from the desolating raids of the armies; of the great loss in possible production while men were engaged in destruction, one sees how impossible it is to calculate the cost of such a war. It is safe to say it would have fed and clothed every family in the nation for a generation to come. But its greatest cost was not in dollars and cents. It cost also

five hundred thousand lives, and untold suffering from imprisonment, wounds, and disease.

516. Suffering of the South. — The North had not felt the miseries of war like the South. In the North work had gone on as in time of peace, in field and shop, in city and town. But the South was like a vast military camp. There almost all the able-bodied white men were drafted for the war. Only the slaves were left to work the fields and take care of the homes. From Mississippi to Virginia the country had suffered the devastation that comes from siege and battle and the tramp of armies. Plantations and farms and all industries were laid in ruins, and when the Southern soldiers returned to their homes it was to face poverty at their firesides, with a father, brother, or son dead in every home. When Sherman ordered the evacuation of Atlanta, exiling from their homes the sick, the old, the feeble, the women and the children, he said to the people who protested, "War is cruelty; you cannot refine it." The people, especially in the South, had tasted war's cruel dregs, and they prayed that the nation might forever after be spared the desolating curse of war.

517. Results of the War. — Were the results of the war worth all this suffering and sacrifice? While the war brought out brutality and greed, it also brought out a spirit of courage, self-sacrifice, and devotion. Its great results may be summed up as follows: —

1. The Union of the states was preserved. It was decided that under the Constitution, the states were united into one nation, not into a mere league of states.

2. The right of secession may no longer be claimed. This right, if it ever existed, died in the war. Of course, war can never settle which side is right and which side is wrong, but only which side shall prevail. The Civil War settled that the national view of secession, not the state rights view, shall prevail.

3. Slavery was forever abolished and the subject of so many years of dispute was now removed. The thirteenth amend-

ment came out of the war. This was passed by Congress in January, 1865. It was submitted to the states, ratified by three fourths of them, and on December 18, 1865, Mr.

Seward, the Secretary of State, proclaimed it a part of the Constitution. It provided that slavery should no longer exist in the United States. It was deemed wise to write this great result of the war into the fundamental law. Its passage was hailed as an "immortal and sublime event."

3. Thirteenth amendment adopted. Slavery abolished.

4. Citizenship for the negro also came out of the war. Before the war a descendant of an African slave could not be a citizen (Supreme Court decision, Dred Scott case).

Now as a direct result of the war, and before the Union was restored, American citizenship was extended to every one born or naturalized in the United States, regardless of race, color, or religion; and this was written in the fundamental law of the land.

4. Citizenship granted to the negro.

5. The war also showed the strength of republican institutions. The war showed the capacity of the people for self-government, that they could save themselves from dissolution and destruction.

5. Strength of Republican institutions assured.

518. The Grand Parade at Washington, May, 1865. — At the close of the war, the United States had about one million men in arms. On the 23d and 24th of May a grand parade was held in Washington of the veteran armies under Meade and Sherman. Here was the military strength of the nation made manifest. It was a grand sight. "Nearly all day, for two successive days," says General Grant, "from the Capitol to the Treasury Building, could be seen a mass of soldiers marching in columns. The national flag was flying from almost every house and store; the windows were filled with spectators; the doorsteps and sidewalks were crowded with people for a view of the grand armies."

Confidence was inspired in the government that could command such an army. The South was exhausted, yet it seemed that the nation was now but just ready to put forth its strength.

The fact was, the North was much stronger at the close of the war than at its beginning. Yet within less than a year these vast armies of the nation were disbanded and the volunteer soldiers were engaged in the ordinary affairs of life. The patriotism of war had given place to the patriotism of peace.

The volunteer army returns to the patriotism of citizenship.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1861. Fort Sumter fired upon (April 13), Lincoln called for Volunteers (April 15), First Bloodshed of the War (April 19).
- 1861. Secession of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas.
- 1861. The Trent Affair.
- 1862. *Monitor* defeats the *Merrimac*, Battle of Shiloh, Peninsular Campaign, Battle of Antietam.
- 1863. Emancipation Proclamation (January 1).
- 1863. First Draft for the Union Army (March 3).
- 1863. Battle of Chancellorsville, Battle of Gettysburg (July 1-3), Fall of Vicksburg (July 4).
- 1864. Battles of the Wilderness, Farragut's Victory at Mobile Bay, Thomas defeats Hood at Nashville, Sherman's March from Atlanta to the Sea (November and December).
- 1864. Capture of Savannah (December 21).
- 1865. Sherman marches from Savannah to North Carolina, Richmond captured (April 3), Lee surrendered (April 9), Johnston surrendered (April 26), Jefferson Davis captured (May 11), Union Armies disbanded, Thirteenth Amendment ratified.

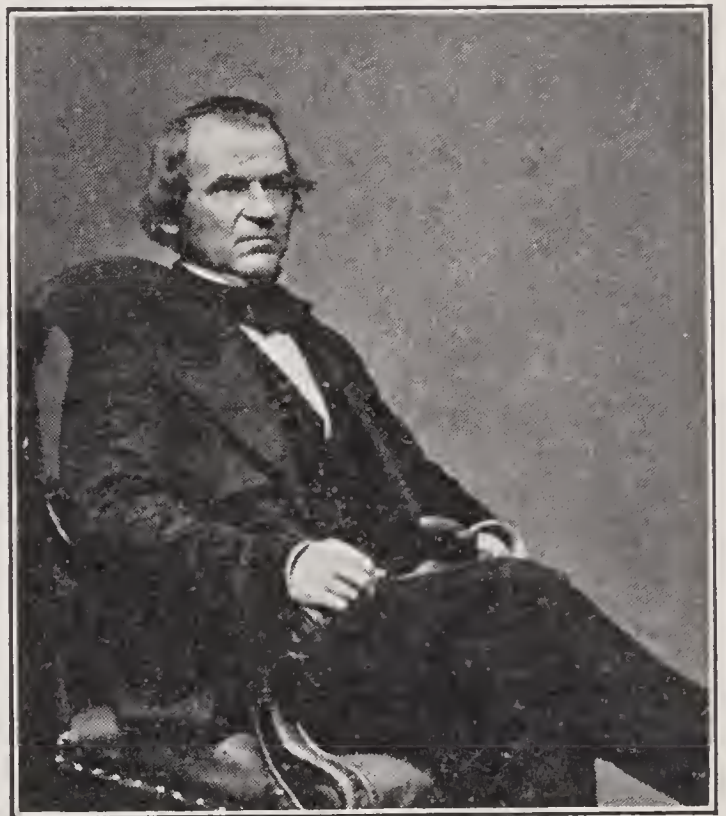
CHAPTER XXXVI

THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION

519. What the Problem of Reconstruction involved. — The Period of Reconstruction includes the years from 1865 to 1876, — from the end of the Civil War to the election of President Hayes. The Union had been broken for a time by secession and war, and it had to be restored. Fixing the conditions on which the Southern states were again to govern themselves and be represented in Congress is called *Reconstruction*.

Two classes of people were to be considered: (*a*) those who had borne arms against the Union, and (*b*) the slaves who had been made free by the war.

520. Andrew Johnson President. — On the death of President Lincoln, Andrew Johnson became President of the United States. Johnson had been senator from Tennessee before the war and military governor of Tennessee during the war. He had stood up stoutly for the Union in the South, and it was for this reason that he was put on the "National Union" ticket with Lincoln in 1864. But he was a Southern man and a Democrat, and many Northern men distrusted him and feared that he would attempt to restore the



ANDREW JOHNSON.

Born in North Carolina in 1808. He was a tailor by trade and his early education was very limited. It is said that he learned to read and write after reaching manhood. He was governor of Tennessee when elected Vice President. After Lincoln's death he became President, and was later United States Senator. He died in 1875.

South and the Democratic party to power. While Johnson was honest and courageous and patriotic, he was obstinate and ignorant. He was without tact, and he did not know how to lead. He was sure to offend where he ought to persuade. Although he took the same course that Mr. Lincoln had pointed out, he did it in such a way as to antagonize the North and drive Congress into open opposition. He did not respect those who opposed him or know when to yield to the opinions of others, as Mr. Lincoln did.

521. Johnson's Plan of Reconstruction. — On May 29, 1865, President Johnson began the work of reconstruction. He declared the war ended and the Constitution in force. He raised the blockade and opened the Southern ports to trade. He issued a proclamation of amnesty, pardoning all who had taken part in the rebellion, excepting persons of high rank. He appointed a temporary governor for each of the late Confederate states. This governor called a convention of delegates, who were elected by the white voters entitled to vote under the old state government. This convention was required to do three things:

1. Repeal the ordinances of secession, or declare them void.
2. Promise never to pay any debt made for the Confederate cause.
3. Abolish slavery and adopt the thirteenth amendment.

This seemed to the President to secure the results of the war, and when the white people of any seceded state would consent to reorganize their state government on this basis, he thought its relation to the Union should be complete and its representatives and senators should take their seats in Congress. By December 1, 1865, all the seceded states had been reorganized on this plan, which is known as the "Presidential Plan," or "my policy," as Johnson called it.

522. Congress refuses to recognize Johnson's Reconstruction. — All this was done while Congress was not in session, in the summer and fall of 1865. When Congress met in December it refused to recognize what President Johnson had done. Members of Congress from the South were refused their seats, and a

joint committee of fifteen was appointed by the two houses of Congress to take into consideration the whole subject of reconstruction.

523. Reasons why Congress rejected the President's Plan of Reconstruction. — There were several reasons why Congress did not accept the President's plan and coöperate with him in carrying it out : —

1. Congress thought it was not the President's business to carry on reconstruction ; that he had gone too far without consulting Congress ; and Congress claimed the right to determine the conditions on which the states were to be readmitted.

Johnson thought that all that Congress had to do with reconstruction was to judge whether members elected to Congress had the proper qualifications. He said Congress had no more right to keep a state out of the Union than a state had to secede. The members of Congress said they should have full control in the matter and the President should carry out their policy.

1. Congress wished full control.

2. Johnson's new Southern states, which were entirely under the control of Southern whites and ex-Confederates, had made harsh laws relating to the freedmen. Vagrancy and pauper laws were passed, which reduced the freedmen almost to a state of slavery. Idle negroes were declared vagrants, or

"tramps," and fined. As the fines could not be paid they were "hired out" to some white man for a certain time to work out the fine. Children were "bound out" till they reached a certain age. People in the North thought this was done out of resentment, because the slaves had been set free. They thought the nation ought to exercise a guardianship over the ignorant and helpless negroes and protect them against injustice on the part of their former masters. With this view Congress had passed (in March, 1865) a Freedmen's Bureau Bill, providing for

2. Vagrancy laws of the South. Would the negroes be reënslaved?

a bureau in the War Department to care for refugees and freedmen in the South ; to give clothing, provisions, and fuel to the destitute ; and to take abandoned land

The Freedmen's Bureau Bill.

and parcel it out to freedmen, giving no more than forty acres to any one man. This seemed humane, for since the support of the masters was taken away from the slaves, it would be cruel to throw them empty-handed upon the world.

But the business was not managed well. The Southern people said it had a bad effect on the negroes. The ignorant blacks were led to believe that the government was going to support them, and that there was no use in working. The idle darkies were waiting around, each one looking for his "forty acres and a mule," and wondering "when de land was goin' fur to be dewided." Former faithful slaves were becoming good-for-nothing loafers. So the South felt they had reasons for their vagrancy laws. But such hard laws as some of their legislatures passed were unnecessary and ungenerous, and they had an unfortunate effect on reconstruction. Northern antislavery men said that if the freedmen were left to the mercies of the Southern states, they would be reënslaved, that *civil rights* ought to be secured for the blacks and they should be made equal before the law.

3. A third reason why Congress refused to accept the President's plan was because it wished to guard more carefully against any future payment of the Confederate debt. They wanted to make the payment of this debt unconstitutional, so none of the Southern states could afterward take it up. Congress thought Johnson's plan did not sufficiently provide for these things.

4. A fourth reason was a party reason. The Southern leaders (who were now all Democrats) and the Democrats of the North all rallied to the support of the President's plan. The Republicans believed that the South, in combination with the Northern Democrats, — many of whom the Republicans looked upon as "copper-head" sympathizers with the South, — would rule the country, as they had before the war. The Republican leaders in control of Congress determined to prevent this, and they set to work on the "Congressional Plan" of reconstruction. Thaddeus Stevens,

Reasons
for the
Southern
vagrancy
laws.

3. The
Confeder-
ate debt.

4. Party
influences
in recon-
struction.

in the House, and Charles Sumner, in the Senate, were two of the leaders in Congress who were determined that Johnson's plan of reconstruction should be set aside.

524. A Second Freedmen's Bureau Bill. The Civil Rights Bill. — In February, 1866, Congress passed a new Freedmen's Bureau Bill, strengthening the former one and extending its time. In March, 1866, the "Civil Rights Bill" was passed, giving citizenship to the negroes (not the right to vote), permitting them to make and enforce contracts and to sue in the courts. This was to give them equal protection of the law. President Johnson vetoed these bills, but Congress finally passed them both over his veto. In February, 1866, President Johnson made a coarse and abusive public speech against Congress and its leaders, and the Republican leaders abused the President in turn. The two branches of the government were now hopelessly at loggerheads, pulling against one another.

Johnson
denounces
Congress.

525. Fears of the Northern Republicans for the Results of the War. — The Republicans felt that the reasonable results of the war must be made secure while they had the power, and that the way to do this was by a Constitutional amendment. They now set to work to deprive the South of what they considered its undue and unfair political power. In 1860 the eleven Confederate states had sixty-one representatives in Congress. Sixteen of these were due to counting three fifths of the slaves. Now that the slaves were free they would all be counted. This would give these states seventy members of Congress. The negroes counted in population, but only the white people voted. Thus the Southern whites would have more power than before. It was this consideration that led the Republican leaders to adopt the suffrage provision of the fourteenth amendment. The plan was that if the Southern states would enfranchise the negroes, then the Republicans were willing for those states to have *seventy* representatives in Congress and *ninety-two* votes in the electoral college ; for it was supposed the negroes would vote the Repub-

Unfair po-
litical power
in the
hands of
Southern
whites.

lican ticket and elect some Republicans. But if these states denied the colored man the right to vote, then their representation should be reduced in like proportion, — to *forty-five* in the House and *sixty-seven* in the electoral college. This made it to the interest of the South to let the negro vote, but each state was left free to determine that matter for itself. It was claimed that this would be fair and yet would keep in power those who would be loyal to the results of the war, — freedom and civil rights for the negro and repudiation of the Confederate debt.

526. The Fourteenth Amendment. — The fourteenth amendment was then adopted. It provided: —

(1) That citizenship should be conferred on the negro, with equal protection of the laws. The principle of the Civil Rights Bill was to be put into the Constitution, so that a subsequent Congress could not change it.

(2) That representation should be based on population, but if any state denied United States citizens (males above twenty-one) the right to vote, its representation should be reduced accordingly.

(3) That all the leaders of the South who had ever taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and had afterward “engaged in insurrection or rebellion,” should be disabled from holding office in state or nation. Congress could remove such disabilities by a two-thirds vote.¹ This cut out the leadership of the South, and was intended as a punishment for rebellion. It was an expression of the bitterness and anger that existed at the time, and it was the outcome of a feeling very prevalent in the North that the leaders of the rebellion had been guilty of a great crime and were unfit to be intrusted with power.

(4) This important amendment also made it forever unlawful for the United States or any state to pay any debt “incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States,” and it said that “the validity of the United States debt shall never be questioned.”

This amendment was submitted to the states in June, 1866,

¹ All such disabilities have long since been removed.

and Congress determined not to readmit any Southern state refusing to accept it. All rejected these terms except Tennessee, which was immediately restored to the Union. The fourteenth amendment was not finally declared adopted till July, 1868.

The fourteenth amendment was made a condition of readmission. Rejected by the South.

The other states thought the conditions imposed were "degrading"; or they hoped the President's plan would win against the plan of Congress in the approaching fall elections of 1866.

527. Elections of 1866. Reconstruction the Issue.—There was intense interest in the political campaign of that year. It was to decide which plan of reconstruction the country would sustain, the President's plan or the plan of Congress. Although it was an "off year," — no President was to be elected, — there were four large national conventions, two on the President's side, two on the side of Congress. A fearful riot occurred in New Orleans (July 30, 1866), in which thirty-seven negroes were killed and over one hundred wounded, together with some of their white friends. The Republicans said this was the way the freedmen would be treated under Johnson's reconstructed governments; that negroes could not obtain the equal protection of the laws. They charged that the life and property of Union men in the South were unsafe, and that at least a thousand had been murdered within a year. These things helped the Republicans in the North. President Johnson made "a swing around the circle," that is, a trip through the country. He made coarse speeches in some of the Western cities, bandying epithets with the crowd. He injured his cause and disgraced his office. The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for Congress. More than two-thirds majority were elected against the President.

New Orleans riot.

The country supports Congress against the President.

Thus when Congress met in December, 1866, the Congressional leaders had been triumphant in the election, and the South had rejected the terms offered in the fourteenth amendment.

528. The Reconstruction Acts of Congress. — Much harder

terms were now to come for the South. By keeping out members from the South the Republicans had a two-thirds majority in Congress united against the President, and they could pass any measure they pleased over his veto. The reconstruction acts were passed (March, 1867), which overthrew the governments President Johnson had set up and placed the South under military rule. The late Confederate states were divided into

**Military
rule. Ne-
gro suf-
frage.**

five military districts, with a brigadier-general in command of each. The people were to elect delegates to new state conventions, and these conventions were to make new constitutions. In choosing these

delegates the negroes were allowed to vote, and the ex-Confederates, the leading white people, were not allowed to vote. No white man could vote unless he could take the "ironclad oath,"

**Ironclad
oath.**

that he had not borne arms against the United States.

The new constitutions were to provide for manhood suffrage, — one man, one vote, regardless of color, excepting that certain important classes of whites were shut out; that is, those named in the fourteenth amendment. The constitutions were then to be submitted to these voters. After they were ratified by the voters and were approved by Congress, and after the fourteenth amendment had been accepted the states could be readmitted to the Union, their senators and representatives might be seated in Congress, and reconstruction would be considered complete. Under these conditions all the seceding states (except Tennessee, already restored) were readmitted by 1870. It was these reconstruction acts and not the fifteenth amendment that imposed negro suffrage upon the South. The fifteenth amendment, adopted in 1870, forbade any state from denying the suffrage to any one on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. It was passed to prevent the negroes from being disfranchised if the state governments of the South should later come under white control. Its purpose has been defeated in some of the states.

529. Thaddeus Stevens. — Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania was the leader in Congress most responsible for the reconstruc-

tion measures. Stevens was an able lawyer and a forcible leader, a friend of popular education, and an advocate of equal rights for all men. He was a radical and violent partisan, even vindictive in his spirit. He hated the "rebels," and he wanted to punish them. He thought they were responsible for all the suffering and expense of the war, and he made a speech in favor of confiscating their property as a war indemnity and for the benefit of the slaves. His "theory of reconstruction" was that the Southern states were like conquered provinces; they had no right to the protection of the Constitution, but only such rights as the victor chose to give, according to the laws of war.

Stevens
wanted to
punish the
South.

530. The Tenure of Office Act. Impeachment of President Johnson. — Before this Congress, expired, in March, 1867, in order to tie President Johnson down, and to prevent him from removing Republican officeholders, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act. This provided that the President, before removing an officer, should give his reasons to the Senate for doing so. If these were not satisfactory, the officer should not be removed. All this shows the bitter feeling that existed between the President and Congress.

In spite of the Tenure of Office Act, Johnson attempted to remove his Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, who was opposed to the President's policy, and who had refused to resign. It shows what an unbearable position President Johnson was in, not to be able to choose his own Cabinet officers. But the House of Representatives considered his attempt to remove Stanton a "high crime and misdemeanor," and they voted to impeach the President before the Senate. They tried to show that he was violating the law or was refusing to be bound by an act of Congress. The Senate sat as a trial court, and Chief Justice Chase presided. If the President were found guilty, he would be removed from office and be incapable of holding any office thereafter. Two thirds were required to convict, and when the Senate voted the President escaped by only one vote.

531. Election of 1868. Reconstruction still the Issue. — Be-

fore the election of 1868 all the new governments set up by Congress in the South, except three (Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas), had accepted the terms Congress imposed. These governments, largely controlled by negroes, had ratified the fourteenth amendment. Congress had admitted their representatives to seats, and their reconstruction was considered complete. But many Democrats felt that all this reconstruction



ULYSSES S. GRANT.

“Unconditional Surrender” Grant was born in Ohio in 1822, and died in New York in 1885. He was graduated from West Point. By able, energetic, and persistent work in the West during the Civil War he became the head of the Union Army. He was twice President of the United States. Later he made a trip around the world, and was received with great honor everywhere.

The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York for President and Francis P. Blair of Missouri for Vice President. They denounced the reconstruction work of Congress, and blamed the Republicans for establishing “military despotism and negro supremacy at the South.” They said the national debt should be paid in “lawful money of the United States,” meaning greenbacks. The Republicans said the debt should be paid “according to the spirit of the law,” meaning coin.

work of Congress was unconstitutional and revolutionary, and that if they could elect the President and get control of Congress it ought to be overthrown as null and void. The Democratic candidate for Vice President in 1868 said this ought to be done. So reconstruction was again an issue in the Presidential election of that year.

The Republicans nominated General Grant of Illinois for President and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for Vice President. Colfax had been Speaker of the House of Representatives. They stood for the reconstruction measures of Congress, and denounced Johnson.

Grant and Seymour were the candidates.

Grant and Colfax were elected by a large majority. The South was mostly Republican under negro suffrage. Grant had two hundred and fourteen electoral votes. Seymour had eighty. The electoral votes of Virginia, Texas, and Mississippi were not counted. Nebraska was admitted in 1867 in time to take part in this election. This made thirty-seven states in all.

Grant
elected
President.

532. Negro Rule in the South. — So Congressional reconstruction was to be sustained by the national government. But during the next eight years (1868–1876) it was doomed to be overthrown in the South. It could not be made to work with the local sentiment so strongly against it.

Congress
was sus-
tained.

The reconstruction governments of Congress were like gall and wormwood to the white people of the South. They made ignorant negroes the rulers of their states. Negroes sat in the seats once occupied by the able statesmen of the South. The slaves were set up to make laws for the masters. Negroes were sent to Congress, and the capable white people, the natural leaders of the South, were left out. This was more than human nature could bear. The negroes were incapable of ruling; they were just out of bondage; in some states ninety per cent of them could neither read nor write. They had no property; so high taxes made no difference to them. They had always been used to being directed. They knew only enough to know that the Republicans had set them free, and they voted the Republican ticket by instinct. They were therefore easily controlled by bad white men.

533. Scalawags and Carpetbaggers. — The negro legislatures and the negroes in politics now came under the control of two classes of white people, the Southern “scalawags” and Northern “carpetbaggers.” The “scalawags” were mostly Southern scamps who were ready to use the negro for their own gain. The “carpetbaggers” were Northern men who had settled in the South after the war, and were so called because all the property they had, it was said, could be carried in a carpetbag. They had no property interests at stake. There were good men

among them who were interested in the negro and who wished well to the South ; but many of them were unscrupulous adventurers, intent on gain.

These new rulers of the South — “carpetbaggers,” “scalawags,” and negroes — began to waste and steal the public money. They borrowed money on state bonds, which they used corruptly. They increased the taxes and piled up debts on the states which the Southern whites were expected to pay. The corruption and extravagance were unbearable. The suffering and degradation of the South seemed darker than in the days of the war, and it was this experience that made the “Solid South” against which the Republican party has contended to this day.

534. The Mistake of Reconstruction. — The great mistake of reconstruction was in imposing negro suffrage on the South before the negroes were ready for it, and in attempting to keep the capable white people from governing in the Southern states. Intelligence and property will rule in the long run. It was impossible to keep the ignorant negroes in power. Ignorance and vice have no right to rule. The consequence was that the Southern white people began a determined effort to regain control of their state governments. A bitter feeling existed between them and the “Yankee carpetbaggers” who had come South to make laws for them. Race hatred was aroused. A secret society was organized by the whites, called the “Ku Klux Klan,” whose purpose was to fill the negroes with terror and counteract the work of their white leaders. The
The Ku Klux Klan. “Ku Klux” rode out at night dressed like ghosts in hideous caps and long white gowns. They had meetings in mysterious “dens.” They appeared at negro cabins in the dead of night, claiming to be the ghostly spirits of dead Confederates, come to warn the negroes to stop voting and taking part in politics. The negroes were superstitious and were easily frightened. But if the Ku Klux warnings were unheeded, the leading negroes, and the white men who encouraged them, were whipped, or driven away, or in many instances were murdered.

So by whipping, burning, plundering, torturing, and killing, the negroes were driven out of voting and holding office.

535. "Force Bills" are passed. — Congress was angry at this defiance of its reconstruction measures. "Force bills" were passed (1870–1872) to prevent these disorders and to protect the negro, and to place elections in control of United States officers. The President was authorized to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* and to suppress insurrection, and the power of the national courts was extended. The better class of white people deplored the Ku Klux evils, and after 1872 they were generally suppressed. Later, the whites in some states, instead of "bulldozing," — a word which originated in the practice of intimidating the negroes during this period, — used tissue ballots and stuffed the ballot boxes and carried the elections by fraud. So partly by violence and partly by fraud, the Southern whites by 1876 obtained control of all their state governments.

Bulldozing and ballot frauds.

Both races at the South suffered greatly from these wrongs, and have continued to suffer from the unfortunate conditions and bitter strife of reconstruction times. Happily, better conditions now exist; the South enjoys local self-government and equal rights within the Union; and harmony and peace prevail between North and South. The "Blue" and the "Gray" mingle together in common reunions and in mutual respect.

536. Election of 1872. — General Grant was reëlected President in 1872. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was elected Vice President. The conditions in the South were still the main subject of discussion. The Democrats nominated Horace Greeley of New York and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri. Greeley was not a Democrat; he had been a lifelong Whig and Republican, and he had said many hard things about the Democrats. But Greeley and Brown had already been nominated by the "Liberal Republicans," those who were dissatisfied with General Grant and wished to prevent his reëlection. They wanted reform in the civil service, a change in the tariff, and a policy of pardon and

The Democrats indorse the Liberal Republicans.

amnesty for the South, but they wanted the reconstruction measures to stand. The Democrats accepted both the platform and candidate of the Liberal Republicans, with the cry of “any-

Grant
defeats
Greeley.

thing to beat Grant.” But Greeley was badly beaten, and died before the electors met to cast their votes.

Grant had two hundred and eighty-seven electoral votes out of three hundred and forty-nine.

537. Political Scandals arose. — During Grant’s second term many political scandals arose. A “whisky ring” — a combination of revenue officers and distillers — were cheating the government out of the taxes on whisky. A Secretary of War, Belknap, was guilty of taking bribes from Indian agents, and escaped impeachment by resigning. These Indian agents were cheating the Indians in furnishing them supplies. The “Credit Mobilier” Company (organized to carry out certain contracts on the Pacific Railroad) gave some of its stock to members of Congress as a means of inducing them to vote for certain bills the company wanted passed. It was charged that the scheme for annexing San Domingo was promoted by government agents who had land in that island and who wanted to increase its value. So there were many scandals arising to give the administration a bad name.

General Grant was not himself guilty of wrongdoing in these matters, but he had surrounded himself by favorites who had imposed upon him and abused his confidence. Grant

“Let no
guilty
man es-
cape.”

urged the prosecution of these offenders. He said,

“Let no guilty man escape.” But there was much dissatisfaction with his administration and a demand

for reform arose.

538. Panic and Hard Times follow. — Financial questions also came to the front during Grant’s second term. A terrible financial panic swept over the country in 1873. There were many business failures, and many men who were in debt were ruined financially. Their stock of goods, their factories, or their farms could not be sold for enough to pay their debts. When they went into debt, their properties could have been sold for much

more than the amount they borrowed. It is hard to explain the cause of a panic. There are many conflicting views about it. But whenever prices of products go down rapidly a panic and hard times are apt to follow. Prices depend partly on the supply of money. Just after the war there was plenty of money, owing to the issue of banknotes and greenbacks. Prices were very high. Wheat sold for three dollars a bushel and flour for twenty-one dollars a barrel. By 1874 wheat was selling for a little over a dollar a bushel and flour for about seven dollars a barrel, and other products had dropped accordingly. It was disastrous to have such a change occur in so short a time. It upset all the calculations of men; they did not know what to depend on two years ahead. Men who had gone in debt for their farms could not pay their mortgages with the products of their farms at these falling prices. If they had calculated to pay their debt with so many bushels of wheat, they found it required two or three times as many bushels and they had to work two or three times as long.

539. Financial Legislation, 1873-1879. — Many people believed that this change of prices had been brought about by the money policy of the government. Soon after the war the government began to call in the greenbacks and destroy them. It then decided to "resume specie payments," that is, pay all obligations in coin. This was done in 1879, as we shall see later (see § 544). In 1873 the silver dollar was dropped from the coinage. This was called the "demonetization of silver" and was afterward denounced as the "crime of 1873." This left the gold coin the only legal standard of value.

540. The Greenback Party organized. — All this seemed to change the standard by which values and prices were measured, to the ruin of debtors. The "Greenback party" arose, which demanded that the greenback be reissued and used as real money and in paying off the national debt. The "Farmers' Grange" and "Patrons of Industry" were organized by farmers throughout the country, and they demanded that the govern-

ment should issue more money and that the railroads should be controlled and prevented from charging extravagant prices for freight. As the result of the dissatisfaction and hard times, the Democrats carried the Congressional elections in 1874, and they hoped to turn the Republicans out of power in 1876.

541. The Contested Election of 1876. — In 1876 the Republicans nominated Governor Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice President. They declared for the results of the war, — debt payment in coin, reform in the civil service, a tariff to protect American labor, no further land grants to corporations, investigation of Chinese immigration, and a consideration of woman's rights.

The Democrats nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York and Governor Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana. They charged corruption and demanded reform in all departments of the government service.

The "Greenback" party, or the "Independent National" party, nominated Peter Cooper of New York and Samuel F. Cary of Ohio. They demanded a repeal of the Specie Resumption Act and an increase of the currency by a larger issue of greenbacks.

The Prohibition party (which had first appeared in 1872) nominated General Green Clay Smith of Kentucky and G. T. Stuart of Ohio for President and Vice President.

The result of the election was very close between Hayes and Tilden. There were thirty-eight states, Colorado having been admitted in August, 1876. There were three hundred and sixty-nine electoral votes, one hundred and eighty-five being necessary to a choice. Each side claimed that its electors were chosen in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, and there was a dispute over one electoral vote in Oregon. Thus twenty electoral votes were disputed. Tilden had one hundred and eighty-four votes without dispute, Hayes only one hundred and sixty-five. In Congress the Senate was Republican, and the House was

Democratic, and they could not agree which set of the doubtful returns should be counted. The result was the creation of the *Electoral Commission* to decide. This consisted of five senators, (three Republicans and two Democrats), five representatives (three Democrats and two Republicans), and five members of the Supreme Court, three of whom were former Republicans. The commission was thus composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. Its decision on the disputed returns was in favor of the Republican electors, and as the law creating the commission provided that this could not be overturned except by the joint agreement of the two houses of Congress, it was accepted as deciding the result. This gave Hayes one hundred and eighty-five electoral votes to Tilden's one hundred and eighty-four. The Democrats were disappointed and dissatisfied, and thought the Electoral Commission had been partisan in its decision; but Mr. Tilden and his supporters patriotically accepted the result, and Mr. Hayes was peacefully inaugurated March 5, 1877.

Electoral
Commis-
sion de-
cides in
favor of
Hayes.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1865-1869. Lincoln and Johnson's Administration.
- 1865. Assassination of President Lincoln (April 14).
- 1865. President Johnson attempts Reconstruction.
- 1866. Quarrel between President Johnson and Congress.
- 1866. Laying of Atlantic Cable.
- 1867. Passage of Reconstruction Acts, Tenure of Office Act.
- 1867. Purchase of Alaska.
- 1868. Impeachment of President Johnson.
- 1868. Fourteenth Amendment Ratified.
- 1869-1876. Grant's Administrations.
- 1869. Completion of Pacific Railroad (surveyed in 1853).
- 1870. Reconstruction Completed.
- 1870. Fifteenth Amendment Ratified.
- 1873. Financial Panic.
- 1876. Centennial Exposition.
- 1877. Electoral Commission.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE UNITED NATION, 1877-1906

PRESIDENT HAYES, 1877-1881

542. A New Era begins. — The administration of President Hayes marks a turning point in the history of the United States. The nation was just emerging from the shadows of the Civil War and a new era was about to dawn. The work of reconstruction was done and the country was again united. The old questions which had formerly divided the people were now settled, and new ones had taken their places. States' rights and slavery were dead issues both North and South, and the people turned their attention to the reform of the civil service, the revision of the tariff, the regulation of railways and other corporations; to the reform of the ballot and of the monetary system, and later to territorial expansion and to world politics.

The South-
ern ques-
tion disap-
pears from
politics.

The so-called "Southern Question" appeared for the last time in American politics in the election of 1876. The old leaders of the Civil War days had passed away, for the most part, and their places had been taken by new men who had not been intimately connected with that great struggle.

In the South there was a decided change. The abolition of slave labor made it possible for that section to make advances in manufacturing as well as in agriculture; and the "New South" at the present time is dotted with factories and furnaces. "The stage was cleared for the creation of a new nation."

543. Character of the President. — President Hayes was not a brilliant man, but he was a lovable, pure, and honest one, and gave the country a very good administration. On account of the dispute over his election, he came to the Presidential chair

under unfortunate circumstances, but it was soon seen that he was a man of good judgment in business affairs and of high moral purpose. He has been more highly appreciated in recent years than during his lifetime. Before becoming President he had served his country in the Civil War, in the House of Representatives, and had twice been elected governor of Ohio.

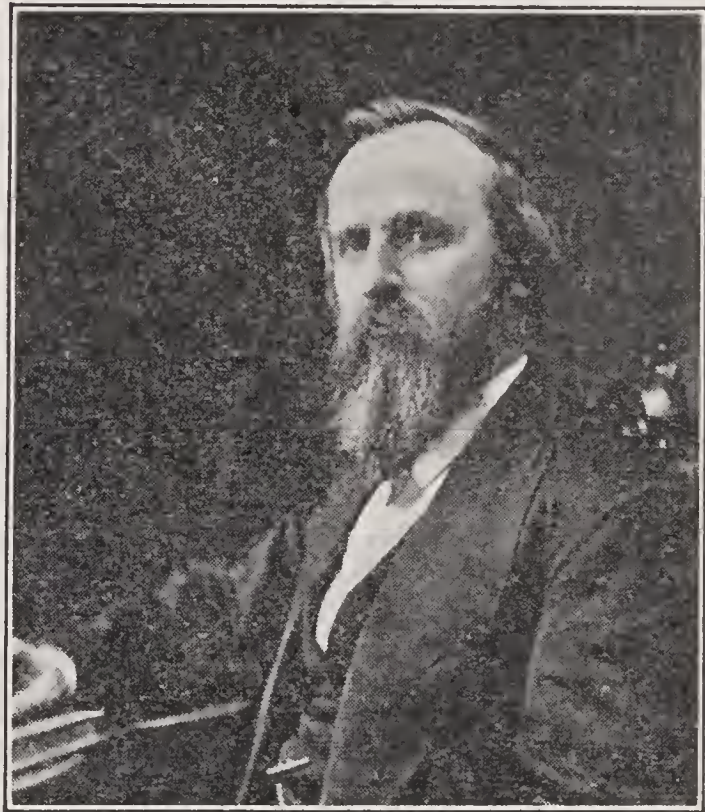
The period was one of peace and conciliation, and Hayes was just the man to lead in such a movement. In the Centennial Exposition,

Peace and
good will
prevail.

held in Philadelphia in the summer of 1876, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, Great Britain, as if taking a pride in the industrial advancement of her former colonies, was one of the principal exhibitors. And now the new President took steps to reconcile the South. One of the first acts of his administration was to recall the Federal troops from the Southern states. In doing so he said that he felt sure that no further violence was intended and that the disputes in the South would be settled by peaceful methods.

In 1880 Congress passed an act which forbade the use of Federal troops at the polls on election day. These acts of the President and Congress did much to bring about a better feeling both North and South.

544. The Redemption of Greenbacks began in 1879.— Another act of great importance went into effect on the 1st of January, 1879. During the war the government issued large amounts of paper money, popularly called "greenbacks." These greenbacks were made legal tender, that is, a creditor



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

Born in 1822 in Ohio ; graduated from Kenyon College ; practiced law, and later entered the Union army. Was elected governor of Ohio in 1867, and was twice reëlected. He was President for one term. He died in 1893.

was obliged to accept them, if offered for the payment of debt, but they could not be exchanged for coin. Owing to the great expense of the war, the government found it impossible to pay gold and silver in return for the greenbacks. The result was that paper money depreciated very rapidly in value, and was worth at one time only thirty-five cents on the dollar, in gold. This had a bad effect on business, and it was the intention of the government to begin the exchange of gold and silver for the greenbacks, or "to resume specie payment," as soon as possible. An act was accordingly passed by Congress in 1875 providing for the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879. In preparing for this resumption, the government had collected a large amount of gold and silver in the treasury, but there was almost no demand for it when the time came. When the people

Since 1879
gold, sil-
ver, and
paper have
been on an
equality.

found that they could get gold and silver for their greenbacks, they were not anxious to obtain the coin. Since 1879 our paper money has been as good as our gold or silver, and it has been the policy of the government ever since to maintain the three kinds of money "on a parity."

545. Garfield and Hancock were the Opposing Candidates in 1880. — The election of 1880 was an exciting one. President Hayes had given the country a good administration and the Republican party had increased in strength, but he was not renominated. Grant appeared as a candidate for a third term, and James G. Blaine of Maine and John Sherman of Ohio were also candidates. It was soon seen that no one of the three could secure the nomination, and so James A. Garfield of Ohio was turned to as a compromise candidate. He was nominated on the thirty-sixth ballot, and Chester A. Arthur of New York was nominated for the Vice Presidency.

Samuel J. Tilden was in poor health and refused to be a candidate, hence the Democrats chose Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, a brilliant Civil War soldier, as their standard bearer. William H. English of Indiana was nominated for the Vice Presidency. The Republicans declared themselves in

favor of a protective tariff and a thorough reform of the civil service, but opposed to further grants of land to railroads or other corporations. The Democratic platform **Garfield** called for a tariff for revenue only, and for the distri- **was elected.** bution of public land only to actual settlers.

The Republican candidates were elected by a vote of two hundred and fourteen to one hundred and fifty-five in the electoral college.

GARFIELD AND ARTHUR, 1881-1885

546. Garfield was assassinated by a Half-crazed Office Seeker. —

James A. Garfield had been president of Hiram College (Hiram, Ohio), had been a major-general in the Union army, and had served as a member of the House of Representatives for seventeen years, before being elected President of the United States. Garfield was a great and a good man, and would undoubtedly have made an excellent President if his life had been spared. It was not to be so, however. He had been in office less than four months, when, on July 2, 1881, a half-crazed and disappointed office seeker shot him down in a railway station at Washington. He passed away on the 19th of September following, and his loss was mourned by the whole civilized world.

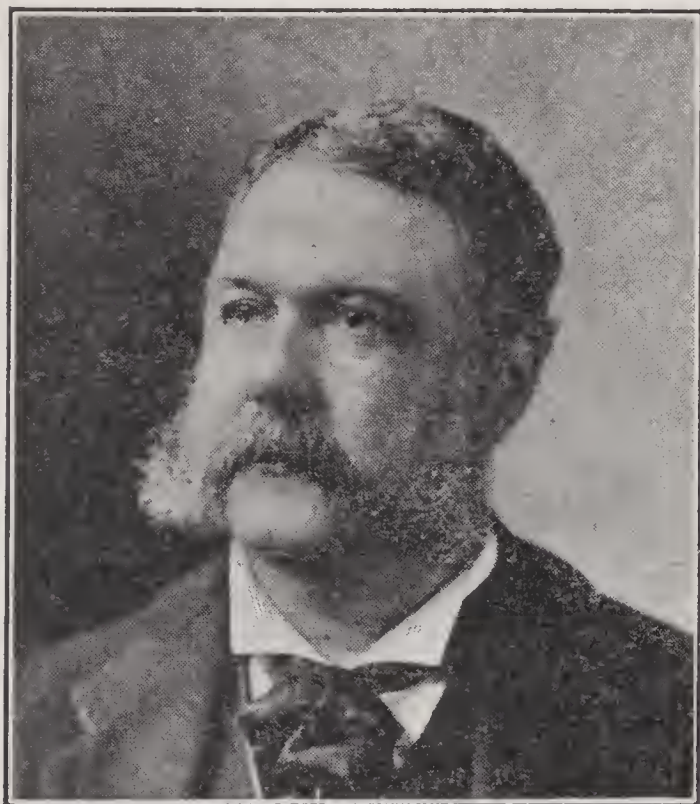


JAMES A. GARFIELD.

Born in Ohio in 1831, he became a driver on the Ohio Canal, and later a carpenter. He was graduated from Williams College and became a noted lawyer, soldier, and orator. He was elected to the House of Representatives and later to the Presidency. Within a few months after he was made President he was assassinated by a disappointed and half-crazed office hunter. The whole civilized world mourned his death.

547. Reform of the Civil Service, 1888. — The assassination of the President called the attention of the people very forcibly to the need of some better method of

making appointments to office. The "spoils system" had been introduced into our politics in 1829, and although its evil effects were seen almost immediately, no political party had the courage to abolish it. The party out of power always snarled at the system, but the party in power liked to use the offices, or the "patronage," to reward faithful political "workers." For this reason civil service reform did not make much headway for



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Born in Vermont in 1830; graduated from Union College, and became a successful lawyer. He was a friend of the colored man and won cases for him in court. He served in the Civil War, and was President of the United States for nearly a term. He died in 1886.

many years. But in 1841 President Harrison was pestered to death by office seekers, and in 1881 the death of President Garfield was due to the same cause. In the meantime, there were scores of political scandals which had been traced directly to the spoils system. This set the people to thinking, and in January, 1883, the "Pendleton Civil Service Act" was passed by the united efforts of the two parties.

The act was introduced by a Democratic member of a Republican Senate, and signed by a Republican President. It provided that appointments to certain government offices should be made

only upon competitive examination, that officers should not be removed for political reasons, and that assessments should not be made upon officeholders to pay campaign expenses. It also provided for a civil service commission to manage and develop the new system. Mr. Arthur, who took the oath of office on

the day following the death of President Garfield, was friendly to the act and put it into effect at once. Under succeeding Presidents, the "merit system," as it was called, was greatly extended. The first law applied only to a few classes of officers, but at the present time

The "merit system" has been greatly extended.

a vast majority of our public officials hold their positions because of merit and not by virtue of political influence. The new system is not perfect, but it is much better than the old, and no political party would now dare to take a stand against it.

548. Blaine and Cleveland were the Opposing Candidates in 1884. — Mr. Arthur was not a brilliant statesman and was not well known when he became President, yet he gave the country a dignified and honest administration. He was a candidate for the Republican nomination in the fall of 1884, but was defeated by the brilliant James G. Blaine of Maine. John A. Logan of Illinois, a famous soldier of the Civil War, was nominated for the Vice Presidency. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, a self-made man of great force, who had been elected governor of New York by a majority of 192,000. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was his associate on the ticket. The campaign was a stirring one. Mr. Blaine, who was an excellent speaker and a man of great personal magnetism, made a tour of the country and aroused great enthusiasm wherever he went. The tariff was the principal issue of the campaign, and the Democrats were successful for the first time since the Civil War. The vote stood 219 to 182 in the electoral college, but a change of 524 votes in New York would have changed the result of the election.

Cleveland
was elect-
ed.

GROVER CLEVELAND, 1885-1889

549. Presidential Succession Law passed, 1886. — Several important measures were passed during Cleveland's administration. The order of Presidential succession had been unsatisfactory for a long time. In 1792 Congress passed an act providing that the President of the Senate and after him the Speaker of the House should succeed to the Presidency in case the President and the Vice President should not be able to perform the duties of the office. Vice President Hendricks died in 1885, and it was seen that the death of the President would place the government in the hands of the Republicans. This seemed

objectionable, since the people had voted to place the Democrats in power for a period of four years. For this and for other reasons it was decided in January, 1886, that the members of



GROVER CLEVELAND.

Born in New Jersey in 1837. He became a teacher, then a lawyer, and was elected mayor of Buffalo. After serving as governor of New York, he was twice elected President of the United States. His present home is in Princeton, New Jersey. He takes a lively interest in public affairs, and writes on public questions.

the Cabinet should succeed to the Presidency in the order of the establishment of their departments. This was a sensible measure, to which both parties agreed (see §§ 215, 216).

550. The States settle Election Disputes. — The disputed election of 1876 had been the subject of serious thought, and various plans were suggested to prevent a similar dispute in the future. Nothing was done until 1887. On February 3 of that year Congress passed an act which provided that each state should settle for itself any controversy which might arise in regard to its electoral vote. Otherwise the state would lose its vote. Under this act the unfortunate

dispute of 1876 cannot be repeated.

551. Interstate Commerce Commission established, 1887. — In this same year Congress passed an important act for the regulation of the railroads. The railroads of the United States did a great work in developing the resources of the country, but there have been many abuses in recent years in connection with their management. The lines were built a little here and a little there, and were later consolidated and combined until at the present time a very large part of the railway mileage of the United States is included in five great systems. Freight shippers began to complain of the rates. The rates, on the whole, were not too high, but they were not uniform. The roads granted "discriminations"; that is, in many instances an espe-

cially low freight rate was granted to certain shippers or to certain cities. The result was to build up some manufacturers and to drive others out of business. To remedy these evils, Congress established the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887. The commission determines what rates are "reasonable and just," and attempts to prevent discriminations. It has not sufficient power, however, to enforce its decisions, and an effort is being made at the present time to strengthen it. The regulation of railway rates is now (1906) a live question, to which the President and Congress are giving serious attention.

The commission determines railway rates, but it lacks power.

552. Elections are purified by the Australian Ballot System. — In 1888 an important change in the manner of voting was introduced. In recent years the states have quite generally adopted the so-called "Australian Ballot System." The names of the candidates of all of the parties are printed on a ticket provided by the state. The voter takes this ticket into a private booth and makes a cross within the party emblem or opposite the name of each candidate for whom he wishes to vote. His ballot is then placed in the box, and his name is checked on the list. The system has done much to purify elections. It discourages the purchasing of votes, because the purchaser cannot know in what way the ballot has been cast.

553. Harrison and Cleveland are the Opposing Candidates in 1888. Harrison is chosen. — As the time for the national conventions drew near, there was a great deal of discussion in regard to the probable candidates. President Cleveland was renominated with almost no opposition, while the Republicans again turned to Blaine. He would not accept, however, and wrote a letter from Florence, Italy, in which he positively declined to be a candidate. The result was that no less than eighteen candidates appeared, and Benjamin Harrison of Indiana was nominated on the eighth ballot. The tariff was again the main issue. President Cleveland had devoted his entire message of December, 1887, to that subject, and had made a strong plea for a reduction of the duties. Harrison

was elected by a vote of two hundred and thirty-three to one hundred and sixty-eight, although Cleveland had a small majority of the popular vote.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, 1889-1893

554. Harrison's Previous Services. — President Harrison was the grandson of William Henry Harrison, the "Hero of Tippecanoe" and former President of the United States. He had a good war record, had served with distinction in the United States Senate, and was recognized as one of the ablest lawyers of his time.



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Born in Ohio in 1833. He served as a soldier in the Civil War, was an able constitutional lawyer, orator, United States senator, and President of the United States. He died at Indianapolis in 1901.

555. Liberal Pensions are granted. — In his first message the new President declared himself in favor of more liberal pensions to the soldiers of the Civil War. Congress promptly acted upon his advice, and the sum expended for pensions was increased from \$89,000,000 per year to \$140,000,000. There were now nearly a million names on the pension rolls.

556. New Tariff Bills. — President Cleveland's message of 1887 called attention very forcibly to the necessity for a revision of the tariff duties. The Democrats went out of power soon after, but the matter was taken up by the Republicans in 1890. William McKinley of Ohio was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House, and under his supervision a new tariff measure was made up. Under the Act of 1883 the duties averaged about forty-three per cent; under the McKinley tariff measure, which became a law in October of 1890, the duties averaged about forty-nine per

cent. The protective feature in our tariff was thus not only retained but increased.

The McKinley Act also introduced the principle of "reciprocity." The President was authorized to lower the duties on goods coming to our ports from foreign countries, in case the countries from which the goods came agreed to admit American goods at a reduced rate.

The McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 increased the average rate of duty.

When the Democrats returned to power they reduced the tariff duties to some extent by the "Wilson Act" of August 27, 1894. The measure was not satisfactory to any one, and President Cleveland allowed it to become a law, but would not sign it.

The Democratic Wilson Act reduced the duties.

When the Republicans under President McKinley returned to power in 1897, a special session of Congress was called to consider the tariff question. The result was that the "Dingley Act," under which we are now living, was passed in June of that year. This act marks a return to the high protective policy of the Republican party. It even increased to some extent the rates which prevailed under the McKinley Act. In recent years there has been something of a reaction against these high tariff duties, and many Republicans are coming to the conclusion that in some cases they might well be reduced.

The Dingley Act of 1897 raised duties to a high point.

557. New States admitted. — The country continued to prosper and to increase in population. The census of 1890 showed sixty-two million people. The tide of immigration was large and the West was rapidly filling up. Four new states — North and South Dakota, Washington, and Montana — were admitted in 1889, and Idaho and Wyoming came into the Union in 1890. Utah, the last state, was admitted in 1896, making a total of forty-five. Four territories, New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma, and Indian Territory, are now (1906) seeking admission. There are no other territories, aside from Alaska and the outlying islands.

There are now (1906) 45 states and 4 territories.

558. Cleveland, Harrison, and Weaver were Candidates for the Presidency in 1892. Cleveland was elected. — In the fall of 1892

Harrison and Cleveland were again the candidates of their respective parties, and the issues were much the same as those of 1888.

The "People's party" appeared for the first time in this campaign and nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa for the Presidency. The new party declared itself in favor of the free coinage of silver, an income tax, and the government ownership of railroads and telegraph and telephone lines. It also advocated the restriction of immigration. Mr. Cleveland was elected by a vote of two hundred and seventy-seven to one hundred and forty-five for Harrison. The People's party showed considerable strength by receiving a popular vote of over one million. Weaver obtained twenty-two electoral votes.

CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1893-1897

559. The Panic of 1893. — Soon after the second inauguration of President Cleveland the panic of 1893 set in. Business became dull, the revenues from the tariff duties decreased, and foreigners tried to sell their American securities. There was a depression in all lines of industry, and it was almost impossible to borrow money. Gold was being taken out of the country to pay foreign debts, and there was a general lack of confidence. Hundreds of banks failed, factories were shut down, and a "currency famine" prevailed. The President immediately called a special session of Congress to deal with the money question.

560. The Money Question not New. — The money question was not a new one in 1893. At the beginning of our national existence Congress had exercised its power "to coin money and to regulate the value thereof." Until 1873 both gold and silver had been used as the standards of value and both were admitted to free coinage. Under free coinage any one may bring to the mint any amount of bullion which he may possess and have it coined into money. We now have free coinage of gold, but not of silver.

Soon after 1873, when the silver dollar was dropped from the coinage, there was a complaint that there was not money

enough to do the business of the country, and in 1878 an act was passed providing that the government should purchase each month not more than four million dollars' worth of silver bullion and not less than two million dollars' worth. The silver dollar was also restored to the list of coins, but silver was not admitted to free coinage, as before 1873.

The Act of 1878. The silver dollar restored.

Still there was a demand for more silver money, and in 1890 the "Sherman Act" was passed, which required the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month, at a price not to exceed \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, which is the amount of silver in the silver dollar. This act did not work well, and President Cleveland called a special session of Congress to repeal it. The purchases of silver were stopped in November, 1893. The money question was not settled, however, and became, as we shall soon see, the main issue of the campaign of 1896.

The country demands more silver. The "Sherman Act."

561. The Monroe Doctrine was asserted in regard to Venezuela in 1895. — The Venezuelan affair of 1895 attracted considerable attention both in Europe and the United States. There was a boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana, and it seemed that Great Britain was obtaining territory which did not rightfully belong to her. President Cleveland objected, under authority of the Monroe Doctrine, and for a time war between the two countries was a possibility. A commission was appointed to determine the true boundary line, and the matter was peacefully settled by arbitration. It was a new application of the Monroe Doctrine.

562. Immigration. — The subject of immigration has become an important one in recent years. The Chinese were excluded from the United States by a series of acts, and efforts have been made from time to time to keep out undesirable immigrants from other countries. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts has made an effort to compel every immigrant to pass a simple examina-

Senator Lodge made an attempt to restrict immigration.

tion before being allowed to enter the country. He would give to each adult a card containing some sentence or clause from the Constitution of the United States, and he would not admit any one unable to read and to explain the part assigned to him.

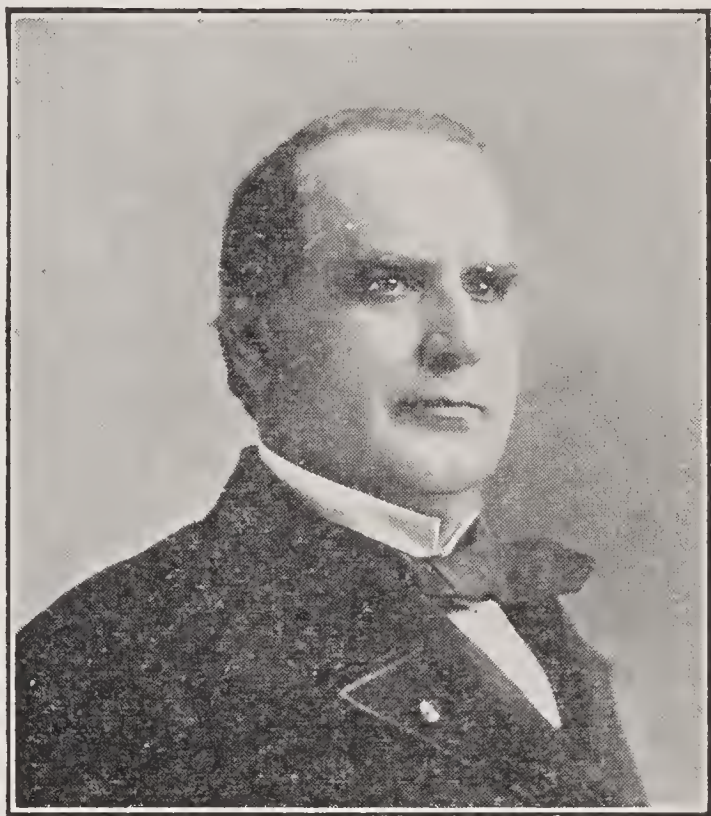
563. Bryan and McKinley were the Opposing Candidates in 1896. McKinley was chosen. — As the election of 1896 approached, it became evident that the tariff question, which had been discussed so much of late, would not be the main issue. The money problem came to the front as the most important question of the campaign. The Democrats nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska, and declared in favor of “the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one.” The Republicans nominated William McKinley of Ohio, the author of the McKinley Tariff Act, and declared themselves opposed to the free coinage of silver, “except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world.” In the meantime they pledged themselves to retain the present gold standard. The campaign was exciting, and the feeling was intense. Mr. Bryan possesses remarkable oratorical powers, and made the most of them during the canvass. He did not, however, receive the united support of his party. The influence of the Cleveland administration was clearly against him, and the Democrats who were opposed to the free coinage of silver nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois for the Presidency. Mr. McKinley was elected by a vote of two hundred and seventy-one to one hundred and seventy-six for Mr. Bryan.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, 1897-1901

William McKinley was one of the best-known men in American public life when he came to the Presidency in 1897. He had served four years in the Union army, fourteen years in the House of Representatives, and had been twice elected governor of Ohio. He had made the tariff a life study, and was the foremost advocate of protection in the United States.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, 1898

564. The United States interferes in Behalf of the Cubans and brings on War with Spain.— In the early part of President McKinley's administration the United States became involved in a war with Spain. Cuba was a Spanish possession, but the inhabitants of the island were not contented under Spanish rule, and repeatedly rose in revolt. In 1895 they rebelled for the sixth time in fifty years, and set up a republican government. The Spaniards used cruel measures in an attempt to put down the rebellion, and the sympathy of the people of the United States was naturally enlisted in behalf of the Cubans. Many Americans were residing in Cuba, American capital was invested there, and our commerce with the island was large. Then, too, the Americans naturally sympathized with people who were struggling for freedom, and the barbarities of the Spanish army shocked them beyond measure. Some wanted to buy the island, some to recognize the independence of Cuba, and others to interfere in behalf of the Cubans by force of arms. Nothing was done, however, and matters went from bad to worse. The summer of 1897 was a dreadful one in Cuba. The country was being devastated, and the people were dying of starvation, or being slaughtered by Spanish arms. Appeals to Spain on the part of the United States were of no avail.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Born in Ohio in 1843. He served with distinction in the Civil War, was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House, governor of Ohio, and President of the United States. He was shot by an anarchist in 1901.

565. The Destruction of the *Maine* hastened the Coming of War.— In the early part of 1898 the United States sent the battle-ship *Maine* to Havana to protect American interests there. On



the night of February 15, the ship, while standing at anchor in the Havana harbor, was shattered by the explosion of a submarine mine. Two hundred and sixty American sailors were killed, and intense excitement prevailed throughout the United States. Spain was held responsible for the outrage, although it has never been proved that the destruction of the *Maine* was due to the Spanish government. The American consul-general, Fitzhugh Lee, was of the opinion that "it was the act of four or five subordinate [Spanish] officers." It was plain that war was unavoidable, and Congress voted fifty million dollars for national defense.

566. Decisive Action taken, April 19. — Decisive action was taken by Congress on April 19, the anniversary of Lexington and Concord. A series of resolutions were passed declaring that the Cubans ought to be free and independent, and serving notice upon Spain to withdraw her troops from the island. The President was also authorized to use the army and navy of the United States if necessary, to compel Spain to relinquish her authority over Cuba. Spain was given five days in which to make a satisfactory answer to the resolutions. Spain's reply was to recall her minister from Washington and to dismiss the American minister at Madrid. This action was equivalent to a declaration of war, and the two nations cleared the decks for action. In the United States two hundred thousand volunteers were enlisted, and many more offered their services.

567. Dewey destroyed the Spanish Fleet at Manila Bay, May 1, 1898. — The American fleets moved at once. One went from Key West to blockade Havana and another, under the command of Commodore George Dewey, sailed from Hongkong in search of the Spanish fleet. Dewey came upon the Spaniards in Manila Bay, and won a brilliant victory on May 1, 1898. After a masterly fight of a few hours he destroyed the Spanish fleet without the loss of a man or a ship.

568. Sampson and Schley destroyed Cervera's Fleet at Santiago, July 3, 1898. — Soon after Cuba became the center of interest, a Spanish fleet under Cervera entered the harbor of

Santiago de Cuba, and the port was blockaded by American squadrons under Commodores Sampson and Schley. The entrance to the port is narrow and crooked, and the Spanish ships within were entirely concealed from view. Mines and torpedoes also kept the American fleet at a respectful distance. Under these circumstances all that Sampson and Schley could do was to prevent Cervera from escaping from the port where he was "bottled up."

In the meantime, General William R. Shafter had brought an army of eighteen thousand men to Cuba and had encamped near Santiago. After being defeated, it became evident to the Spaniards that Santiago would fall. Cervera sought safety by making a wild dash out of the harbor on the morning of July 3.

The Americans gave chase with deadly fire, and in four hours the Spanish fleet was utterly destroyed. Cervera and eighteen hundred men were taken prisoners, while the Americans lost but one man and not a single vessel. About two weeks later Santiago, with over twenty thousand Spanish troops, surrendered to General Shafter.

General
Shafter
took San-
tiago.

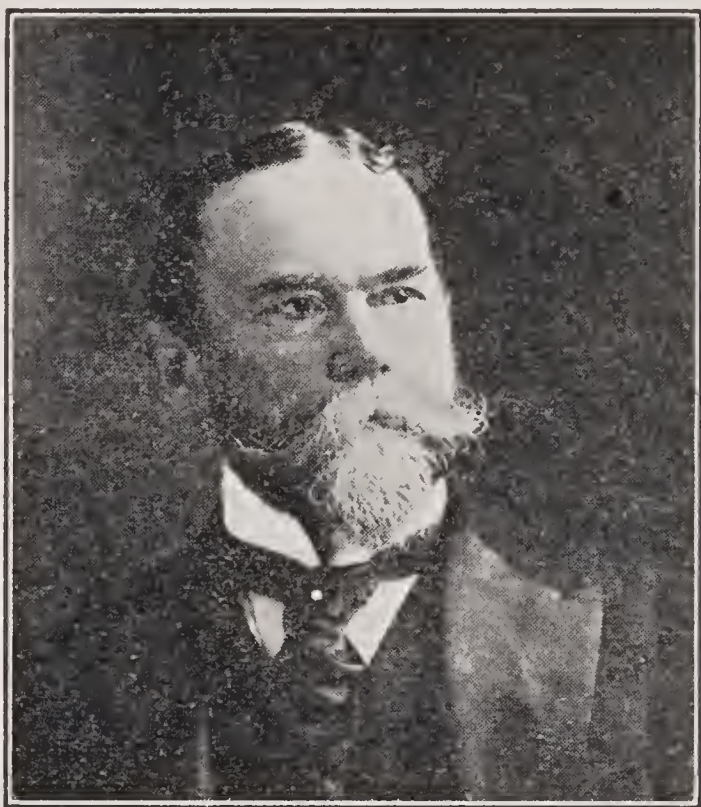
569. General Miles took Porto Rico. — A short time after, General Nelson A. Miles, the head of the United States army, took possession of Porto Rico. The inhabitants of the island were apparently glad to welcome the American army, and the Spanish soldiers offered almost no resistance.

570. A Treaty of Peace was made December 10, 1898. — Beaten at all points, the Spaniards were ready to make peace. A peace agreement was made on August 12, but on the following day, before the news had reached the Philippines, Manila, with seven thousand soldiers, surrendered to Commodore Dewey and General Merritt.

The treaty of peace, which was signed on the 10th of December, 1898, provided that Spain should give up all claim to Cuba, and should cede Porto Rico, Guam (in the Ladrones), and the Philippine Islands to the United States. The United States agreed to pay twenty million dollars to Spain. The treaty was

ratified by the Senate on February 6, 1899, and by Spain on March 19, and its terms were carried out in due time.

571. The Filipinos under Aguinaldo rebel against the United States, but are defeated.— After the treaty was made it was found impossible for the United States to take peaceable possession of the Philippines. When the Spanish-American War broke out, the natives of the islands, under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, were in revolt against Spain and were attempting to set up an independent government. The Filipinos welcomed and aided the American troops, and although no promises had been made to them, Aguinaldo and his followers expected that the islands would be given their independence at the close of the war. When the United States decided that it would not be wise to set up the Philippine Islands as an independent republic, there was great disappointment among the leaders of the natives, and an insurrection followed. On February 4, 1899, Aguinaldo made an unsuccessful attack upon the Americans at Manila. In the course of the year the Filipinos were repeatedly defeated and their forces broken up. In 1900 the American army was in possession of the seaports and all other important points in the islands. Only a few bands of guerrillas still held out against the authority of the United States. In March, 1901, Aguinaldo, the rebel leader, was captured by General Funston.



JOHN HAY.

A distinguished statesman, diplomat, and man of letters; born in 1838. Was assistant secretary to President Lincoln, and served in the Civil War and as foreign minister. He made his greatest reputation as Secretary of State under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt. While holding this office he insisted, in 1900, upon the "open door" policy in regard to China. This means that when the European powers wanted to divide up Chinese territory Mr. Hay insisted that it should not be done, and also that the commerce of China should be open to the world. He was joint author of Nicolay and Hay's "Life of Lincoln." He died while Secretary of State, in 1905.

572. Government established in the Philippines.—Preparations were made at once to give the islands an honest and stable government. In 1900 a temporary government was established under a commission appointed by the President, and on March 2, 1901, he was authorized by Congress to establish a permanent form. This he did, and under the leadership of Judge William H. Taft, later Secretary of War, a form of government was put into effect for the islands as a whole and local governments were established wherever possible.

573. Cuba and Porto Rico.—At the close of the Spanish War, Porto Rico also passed into the hands of the United



MAP OF PORTO RICO.

Porto Rico is a mountainous tropical island about a thousand miles from the mainland of the United States. The island is unusually fertile. Principal crops are sugar, coffee, tobacco, cotton, and maize. Lumbering is one of the large industries.

States, and was organized as a dependency under a form of territorial government, which went into effect in May, 1900.

Cuba was in a most deplorable condition at the close of the war, and United States officers remained in the island for a considerable time to restore law and order and prosperity. The annexation of the island was not to be thought of, as Congress had declared before the war began that it was not the intention of the United States to take permanent possession of Cuba. Congress also

The Cubans manage their domestic affairs.

expressed its intention "to leave the government and control of the island to its people" after it had been pacified. Steps were accordingly taken to turn over the island to its inhabitants. A constitutional convention met in June, 1901, and established the Cuban Republic, of which General Palma was elected the first president. In May of the following year the troops of the United States were withdrawn and the Cubans were left to work out their own destiny. The United States still retains a general supervision over the foreign affairs of the island.

Their foreign affairs are managed at Washington.

574. The Hawaiian Islands were annexed as a Result of the Spanish War. — The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands may be looked upon as one result of the war with Spain. The inhabitants of the islands had been trying to bring about annexation for years but had not succeeded. When the Spanish-American War came on, however, and the United States acquired interests in the Pacific Ocean, we were very glad to take the islands. They were annexed by a joint resolution of Congress, passed July 7, 1898, and were organized as a territory on June 14, 1900.

575. McKinley defeated Bryan for the Second Time, in 1900. — Shortly after the settlement of the war questions, the time came for the nomination of candidates for the election of 1900. The Spanish War had been brought to a successful close, and President McKinley had given the country an excellent administration. He was an able and lovable man, and had endeared himself to the whole people. No one else was thought of for the Republican nomination. Mr. Bryan also was the idol of his party and was renominated. During the canvass the question of territorial expansion was discussed, and some attention was given to the money and tariff questions. The campaign was not so exciting as the one of 1896, and the result was the same. President McKinley was elected by a vote of two hundred and ninety-two to one hundred and fifty-five, and entered upon his second term under very favorable circumstances. Theodore Roosevelt of New York, a splendid type of vigorous young American manhood, was elected Vice President.

MCKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT, 1901-1905

576. President McKinley was assassinated in September, 1901. — Just when the President's career seemed brightest and most



THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Born in New York in 1858. He graduated from Harvard, became a member of the New York legislature, a member of the Civil Service Commission, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; was colonel of "The Rough Riders" in the war with Spain, and later became governor of the state of New York. He has written many books on American history and outdoor life. President of the United States, 1901—.

The need of an isthmian canal was emphasized by the voyage of the *Oregon*.

promising, he was stricken down by the hand of an assassin, on September 6, 1901, while attending the Pan-American Exposition, at Buffalo. He died eight days

Theodore Roosevelt became President, Sept. 14, 1901.

later, and on September 14 Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States.

President Roosevelt was known as a vigorous, honest, and high-minded man when he came to the Presidency in 1901.

577. Work on the Isthmian Canal begun by the United States. —

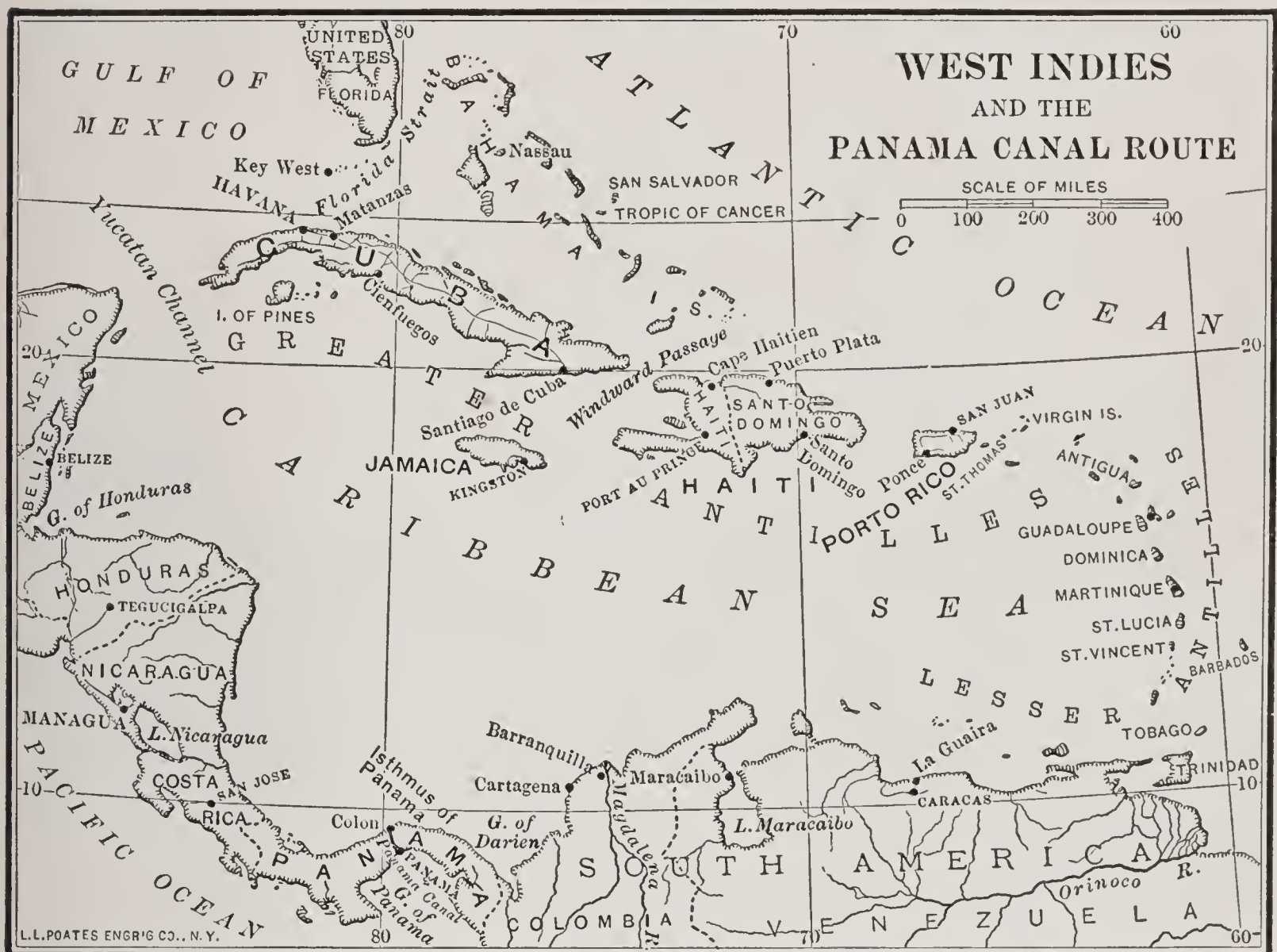
The beginning of the Panama Canal seems destined to be connected with the name of Roosevelt. It had been evident for centuries that a canal across the isthmus connecting Central and South America would be of great

military and commercial value to the world and to the United States in particular. Attempts have been made from time to time to construct such a canal, but without success. Finally, in

1898, when the battleship *Oregon* was compelled to make a voyage of fifteen thousand miles from San Francisco around Cape Horn, in order to join the American fleet in the West Indies, the people of the United States determined that the canal should be made. Two routes were considered, the Nicaraguan

and the Panama, and in June of 1902 Congress authorized the

President to construct the canal at Panama, in case he could secure the necessary "right of way." He opened negotiations with the Colombian government, and succeeded in making a treaty for the strip of land. This treaty, however, Colombia refused to ratify, and an insurrection broke out on the isthmus.



THE WEST INDIES, PANAMA, AND THE CANAL ROUTE.

The completion of the Panama Canal will add a new interest to this part of the world. The "Canal Zone," or that part of the isthmus controlled by the United States, already presents a busy scene. Many of the workmen for the canal have been imported from the surrounding islands.

The people of the locality set up the new Republic of Panama on September 3, 1903. Three days later this new republic was recognized by the United States, and in the February following a treaty was made with Panama for the canal territory. After some delay the work was begun, and is now being carried on.

The Republic of Panama grants the "right of way."

578. Roosevelt and Parker the Opposing Candidates in 1904. The Former was chosen by a Large Majority.—Mr. Roosevelt

made a popular President, and was nominated by the Republican party without opposition in the summer of 1904. The Democrats nominated Judge Alton B. Parker of New York. Judge Parker, before his nomination, and while the convention was in session, declared himself in favor of the gold standard.



THE CULEBRA CUT.

This is the deepest cut on the Panama Canal route and will be eight miles long and two hundred and eighty-six feet deep at its deepest point, if present plans are carried out. The excavation will be a difficult task.

This act eliminated the money question from the issues of the campaign. Territorial expansion or "imperialism," the trusts, and the tariff were discussed, and Mr. Roosevelt was elected by a vote of three hundred and thirty-six to one hundred and forty. President Roosevelt's plurality of the popular vote was more than 2,500,000.

INDUSTRIAL AND MATERIAL EXPANSION : CONCLUSION

579. The "American Frontier" has vanished. — The history of the United States, from the colonial times to the present day, is a record of marvelous expansion and growth in every respect. Three hundred years ago sturdy emigrants from Europe began the industrial conquest of the territory now embraced in the United States, and the process is approaching completion in our own day. At first a few settlements were made along the Atlantic coast; then the hardy pioneers crossed the Alleghany Mountains and peopled the magnificent valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi; from the Mississippi the stagecoach and the prairie schooner led the way over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific slope. In the course of time, all of the fertile land in this vast area was taken up by settlers, until there remained in the public domain only the "Great American Desert" of the Southwest. Even this is now being reclaimed through irrigation by the government of the United States, and in a few years will be opened up for settlement. It was customary a short time ago to speak of the "frontier settlements"; now there is no American frontier.

The United States has increased from thirteen states, in 1776, to forty-five states and four territories, in 1900, not including Alaska, Porto Rico, the Philippines, or other outlying islands. In 1776 the area of the new states was about 400,000 square miles, as against 3,747,000 square miles in 1906.

The population of the United States, according to the census of 1790, was less than 4,000,000; in 1900 the population was 76,000,000; or 84,000,000 if we include all the possessions of the United States.

580. The Growth of Cities has been Wonderful. — The growth of the cities has been marvelous. In 1800 there were only 6 cities in the United States with populations of 8000 or more; in 1900 there were 555 such cities. In 1800 about four per cent of the people lived in cities, and in 1900 the cities con-

tained one third of the entire population. New York is now second only to London in population, and Chicago, which a few decades ago was an obscure trading post, is now a thriving, bustling city of 2,000,000 people. The story of our increase in population is largely a story of the building of cities and of westward expansion. In 1790 about five per cent of the people lived west of the Appalachian Mountains; in 1900 about sixty per cent were in this region. In 1790 the center of population was thirty miles east of Baltimore; now it is in the vicinity of Indianapolis.

581. Agriculture. — Although we have made wonderful advances in manufacturing, agriculture still remains the chief industry of the United States. The figures compiled by the Department of Agriculture are simply astounding. For example, the average corn crop of the United States in recent years was 2,058,850,000 bushels, with a cash value of \$585,000,000. In 1896 seven states — Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, Kansas, and Missouri — produced more than two thirds of this entire crop. The farm products of the United States are steadily increasing in value, not so much because of increased acreage of tillable land, but particularly because the farmers are advancing in a knowledge of scientific agriculture. Scientific methods have increased the quantity and improved the quality at the same time.

Country life in the United States has also been improved. It is not so monotonous as it was once. Gravel roads, railroads, inter-urban lines, the telephone, and rural mail delivery have given the farmer many of the advantages of the city without its disadvantages.

Conditions of country life have improved.

582. Manufacturing. — The American makes the fullest use of labor-saving machines. This fact has increased our manufactured products enormously in recent years. We are sending machines and apparatus of various kinds not only to Africa, Asia, and South America, but also to the leading nations of Europe. American locomotives are running on English railroads. According to the last census there were \$9,831,000,000

invested in manufacturing establishments. These establishments gave employment to 5,315,000 persons and produced over \$13,000,000,000 worth of goods.

583. Machinery, the Railroads, the Telegraph, Inventions, and Industrial Development. — Machinery is now doing most of the work that human hands had done before. Among the improvements exhibited for the first time at the Centennial Exhibition in 1876 were the *electric light* and the *telephone*. These are now in general use, but they were then new. They have brought the country into a new age of electricity. Professor A. G. Bell of Boston invented the telephone, by means of which men may now talk with one another over long distances.

The building up of the great *railway systems* of the United States has been one of the commercial wonders of the world. In 1840 there were not 3000 miles of railroads in the United States. Chicago could not be reached by rail until 1851. By 1876 there were about 80,000 miles of railway in our country. We now have about 200,000 miles of railroad as against 176,000 miles for all the countries of Europe combined. The railroads induced immigration from abroad, opened up the West, and provided transportation for Western products. The Central Pacific Railroad was completed in 1869. This great enterprise, begun in 1862, was promoted by the government by gifts of public lands. It furnished the passage long sought for between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

The first *electric telegraph* was put into operation in 1844. This epoch-making event was due largely to the efforts of Samuel F. B. Morse, who, struggling against poverty, finally persuaded Congress to vote \$30,000 for an experimental line from Baltimore to Washington. Now it seems that both telegraph and telephone are essential to modern civilization.

In 1866 the *Atlantic cable* was successfully laid, by which telegrams may be sent under the sea. Thus electricity connected Europe and America, between Ireland and New-

foundland. An unsuccessful attempt had been made at this in 1857. Cyrus W. Field persisted and he was finally successful.

The railroad and the telegraph added to the circulation of newspapers, periodicals, reviews, and magazines. The telegraph doubled the newspaper circulation within six years. Great newspapers arose, with great editors to reflect and enlighten public opinion, — like Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune*, James Gordon Bennett of the New York *Herald*, and Henry J. Raymond of the New York *Times*. Good reading was made cheaper and possible in almost every home.

Great
newspapers
arose.

The modern reaper and threshing machines came into use a little over half a century ago. Cyrus H. McCormick had invented his reaper in the early thirties, but he was not able to bring his machines into use until after he had put one on exhibition in the World's Fair in London in 1851, and until he had shown what they could do on our Western prairies. We cannot see how the crops of our great Western farms could now be gathered with only the old-fashioned sickle and scythe or without the steam thrasher.

Reapers and
threshers
promote
agriculture
on a large
scale.

In 1844 Goodyear made his process of making India rubber harder, more durable and elastic (called vulcanizing), and when we think of the rubber goods that this made possible we are led to see how Goodyear's invention was one of the most useful of the century.

Goodyear
and rubber
goods.

In 1846 Elias Howe brought out the first sewing machine, which has since been perfected by Wheeler, Wilson, Singer, and other inventors. By the same year it had been shown that a person might be made insensible to pain by inhaling chloroform or ether (an anæsthetic) and thus the agony of surgery was relieved. The honor of this discovery has been claimed for a number of physicians: Dr. Morton of Massachusetts, Dr. Wells of Connecticut, and Dr. Long of Georgia. The first operation with the use of an anæsthetic was reported by Dr. Long in 1842.

The sewing
machine.
Anæsthetics.

The last half of the nineteenth century was a period of great trade expansion. Great steamship lines multiplied trade with Europe and made travel abroad much easier. In 1854 Commodore Perry opened up trade relations with Japan. Silver was discovered in Nevada in 1859. In the fifties coal oil, or petroleum, was discovered in Pennsylvania, to be followed later by great use of "natural gas." The decades from 1840 to 1860 were marked by great prosperity that was hardly checked by the Mexican War, or by bitter sectional strife, or by the commercial panic of 1857. Increased machinery caused large factories for manufacturing purposes to take the place of the small shops, and this cheapened goods if it did not improve their quality.

Trade expansion is promoted by material discoveries.

All these causes, cheaper goods, better transportation, better means of living, improvements in agriculture, cheap public lands, increase in the precious metals and in mining facilities, brought about a wonderful growth in the West. Between 1840 and 1860 the population of Illinois and Indiana was doubled, that of Wisconsin and Michigan more than quadrupled. The mining and grazing regions of the Rocky Mountain states were developed. Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska were settled and brought into the Union, and the western part of America became the great source of food products for Europe.

Wonderful growth of the West.

At the close of the Civil War the area of the United States was 3,025,000 square miles. In 1867 Alaska was purchased for the sum of \$7,200,000. Alaska contained 570,000 square miles. At that time it was thought to consist only of rocks and icebergs of no value; but its fisheries and seals, and lately its gold from the Klondike, have brought in many times what was paid for it.

584. Education, Literature, and Art. — American progress, however, has not all been of a material kind. It is true that our forefathers were engaged, for the most part, in felling the forests and in breaking the soil, but they did not neglect educational affairs. The people of Massachusetts made provisions for educational institutions "while the tree stumps were as yet

scarcely weather-browned in their earliest fields." From that time to this education has thrived in the United States. Common schools and high schools are now within easy reach of almost every child, and colleges have increased in number and improved in quality of instruction. Circulating libraries and traveling libraries have been established in large numbers in all parts of the United States.

In literature the volume of the product is all that could be desired, but the standard of excellence is not so high as in the days of Longfellow, Emerson, and Lowell. The writers of history, however, have been fairly successful in maintaining the standard set by Parkman, Bancroft, Motley, and Prescott. The work of James Schouler, John B. McMaster, Henry Adams, Henry C. Lea, and James Ford Rhodes will compare favorably with that done in any country in recent years.

Art and architecture are still in their infancy, although there is a profound interest in both, and splendid work is being done in some localities. The large cities are becoming art centers. The leisure and wealth of the country may be expected to stimulate artistic work in the near future.

585. Problems still to be Met. — Although the people of the United States have been fairly successful in solving the problems which have confronted them, the student should not think that the victory is complete and that nothing remains to be done. The problems of the twentieth century will be more numerous and no less perplexing than their predecessors. The United States — whether for good or for ill — is now a world power. We have interests in the Pacific and in China, and the President was instrumental in bringing about peace between Russia and Japan. We also have our domestic problems. The strife between labor and capital is intense; the tariff and the money questions are not settled; the liquor problem is not satisfactorily adjusted; the trusts and railroads need attention; and the century will develop scores of other questions not thought of now. In fact, history is being made in the United States to-day more rapidly than ever before.

586. “A Man is More than a City.” — It should be said, too, as a final word, that the most important of our products have not been material ones. America’s greatest triumph has not been in her agricultural and manufactured products but in her free institutions. The greatest contribution which the United States has made to the civilization of the world has been in the development of a republican or democratic form of government. Under our system of popular government, — the best system which man has yet devised, — our highest products are free, enlightened, and progressive American citizens. Our material prosperity is an item of no small account, but “a man is more than a city” and to develop men and women is the highest and noblest work of the State and Nation.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1877–1881. Hayes’s Administration.
- 1879. Specie Payment Resumed.
- 1881–1885. Garfield and Arthur’s Administration.
- 1883. Pendleton Civil Service Act.
- 1885–1889. Cleveland’s First Administration.
- 1886. Presidential Succession Act.
- 1887. Interstate Commerce Commission Organized.
- 1888. Australian Ballot Introduced.
- 1889–1893. Benjamin Harrison’s Administration.
- 1890. McKinley Tariff Act.
- 1894. Wilson Tariff Act.
- 1897. Dingley Tariff Act.
- 1893–1897. Cleveland’s Second Administration.
- 1897–1901. McKinley’s Administration.
- 1898. Spanish-American War.
- 1898. Hawaiian Islands Annexed.
- 1901–1905. McKinley and Roosevelt’s Administration.
- 1902. Panama Canal Route Authorized.
- 1905–. Roosevelt’s Administration.

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT OF INDIANA

HISTORY

1. **La Salle probably the First White Man in Indiana, 1669.**—The territory comprising the present state of Indiana is located several hundred miles from the Atlantic coast, and more than a century and a half elapsed after the founding of Jamestown before a white man set foot upon its soil. La Salle, one of the heroes of New France, was, in so far as we can find out, the first white man to explore any part of what is now Indiana. In 1669 he entered its territory, and in 1669–1670 he passed along the entire southern boundary, and probably crossed the northwest corner of the state in 1671 or 1672. He was in the territory several times after this date, and probably on the Wabash River. In 1679 and 1680 his regular route of travel from Canada to Louisiana led him across Indiana by way of the Kankakee and St. Joseph rivers. The portage was made near the present site of South Bend.

It is interesting to note the object which La Salle had in view in making his famous voyage in 1669. A French letter of November 11, 1669, states that “Messrs. de La Salle and Dolier, accompanied by twelve men, had set out with a design to go and explore a passage they expected to discover communicating with Japan and China.” It is needless to say that La Salle did not find Japan or China, but he did a much more valuable service in opening up the Mississippi valley to the white man for settlement.

There is much doubt as to the details of the early exploration and settlement of Indiana, because a fire at Vincennes, the oldest permanent town in the state, on January 21, 1814, destroyed a large part of the early records.

2. Early Settlements.—The first settlement within the boundaries of the state of Indiana was made at Ouiatanon, on the Wabash River, about 1720. Ouiatanon was a trading post and fort, and was located on the north bank of the river, about four miles west of where the city of La Fayette now stands. It contained a number of cabins inclosed in a stockade, and was once an important post, because the Wabash River was an important part of the route between Canada and Louisiana. The post disappeared more than a century ago, and now nothing remains to mark its site except an occasional relic in stone or metal.

The first white settlement was made at Ouiatanon, 1720.

Vincennes, named from its founder, was the second post in the state, and was established about 1727. It was at first a trading post, then a fort, and remains to-day one of the most interesting places in the West. It is the county seat of Knox county, and has a population of 10,249 people.

The second settlement and the first permanent one was made at Vincennes, 1727.

Fort Miamis, near the present site of Fort Wayne, was probably the third white settlement made within the boundaries of the state. These posts in Indiana helped to connect the French in Canada with those in Louisiana. Vincennes was governed from Louisiana and Ouiatanon and Fort Miamis from Canada. The dividing line between the jurisdictions of Louisiana and Canada was a line running east and west through the present site of Terre Haute.

Fort Miamis was the third settlement.

These early posts did not grow rapidly. In 1769 Vincennes, when forty-two years old, had but sixty-six heads of families.

At Ouiatanon, a still older post, there were but twelve heads of families, and at Fort Miamis, only nine.

The early posts grew slowly.

At Vincennes agriculture was the principal occupation, while the inhabitants of the other two posts devoted themselves to fur trading exclusively.

3. The Wood Rangers explored the Mississippi Valley.—During these years white men were pushing their way into the most remote corners of the eastern Mississippi valley. These

explorers were the famous wood rangers, or the *coureurs de bois*, as they were called by the French. "They were the most romantic and poetic characters ever known in American pioneer life. Their every movement attracts the rosiest coloring of imagination. We see them gliding along the streams in their long canoes, shapely and serviceable as any water craft that man has ever designed, and yet buoyant and fragile as the wind-whirled autumn leaf. We catch afar off the thrilling cadence of their choruses floating over prairie and marsh, echoing from forest and hill, startling the buffalo from his haunt in the reeds, telling the drowsy denizens of the posts of the approach of revelry, and whispering to the Indian village of gaudy fabrics, of trinkets, and of fire water. We feel the genial warmth of the camp fire that breaks the chill of the night wind, and dissipates the fog which rises from stream, bayou, and marsh, as the men gather about it and whiff the narcotic incense from their stumpy pipes; or later on, when they bring forth the inevitable greasy pillows, roll in their grimy blankets, and speed away to dream-land. Another night they have reached the little post, and we are overwhelmed by the confusion of chattering, laughing, singing, and bargaining; we almost taste the fiery brandy that is rapidly preparing them for the wild whirl of the dance and the delirium of the debauch beyond."¹ Thus did these hardy forest rangers penetrate the wilds of Indiana on their trading expeditions long before civilization had reached its borders. They lived and traded with the Indians, but had no thought apparently of agriculture or settlement. They suffered innumerable hardships. A day's rations at one time consisted of "a quart of hulled corn and a pint of bear's grease." At a later time the rangers advanced to the greater luxury of pea or bean soup flavored with pork, and accompanied by a sea biscuit.

4. Agriculture was in a Rude State. — After a time the early French settlers, especially about Vincennes, began to cultivate the soil. Their farming was of the rudest kind. Their plows were made entirely of wood with the exception of the points,

¹ Dunn's "Indiana," pp. 90-91.

which were of iron. There were no traces or whiffletrees. Oxen were attached to the beam, not by a yoke about the neck, as is customary, but by means of a stick bound to the horns by thongs of rawhide. The oxen then drew the plow by pushing with their heads.

5. Treaty of 1763. — The Treaty of 1763 made a decided change in the Mississippi valley. By this treaty (see § 148) France ceded to Great Britain all of her possessions east of the Mississippi except a small tract where the city of New Orleans now stands. This transfer, however, made little difference in the daily life of the French frontiersman. He continued to occupy his posts and to trade with the Indians and, in some localities, to carry on agricultural pursuits in a simple way.

6. George Rogers Clark saved the Northwest. — During the Revolutionary War thrilling scenes were enacted in what is now Indiana. The British were inciting the Indians to commit the most outrageous barbarities upon the white settlers, and George Rogers Clark, a natural leader of men, conceived a plan whereby he thought the practice could be stopped and the territory of the Northwest added to the new states in case they should gain their independence. Clark was a Virginian who had gone into the region now known as Kentucky. He was a man of marvelous will power and well versed in frontier life. He appeared before Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia and laid before him a plan for the conquest of the Northwest. His purpose was to capture the most important posts which had been used as the bases of supply by the British. Governor Henry approved the plan and Thomas Jefferson lent his assistance. In a short time Clark was ready to set out on his perilous expedition.

He gathered together a few men on Corn Island in the Ohio River, near the present site of Louisville, and on June 24, 1778, this "Hannibal of the West" set out to wrest the Northwest from the control of the British. He had only one hundred and fifty-three men, but his stout heart availed much. On July 4 he captured Kaskaskia, and other posts fell soon after. A few men under the command of Captain Leonard Helm were sent by Clark to



OLD FRENCH MANSION AT KASKASKIA.

The evidences of early French civilization in the Mississippi valley are rapidly disappearing. Some cities, like Vincennes, still retain a few interesting French landmarks, but these, for the most part, are going the way of the old French mansion at Kaskaskia.

take possession of Vincennes. The British had sent no troops as yet to this important post, and Helm with his handful of men invested the place. On the 15th of December (1778), however, General Henry Hamilton, of the British army, with thirty regulars, fifty Canadians, and about four hundred Indians, appeared before Vincennes and demanded the surrender of the fort. Captain Helm, in command of one man, was in the fort when Hamilton appeared. Helm, however, was not in a submissive mood, and standing over a loaded cannon, with a burning match in his hand, he refused to surrender until he had been promised the "honors of war." This being done, Helm marched his force of one man out of the fort with due pomp and ceremony.

Clark determined to recapture the post, and set out for Vincennes with about one hundred and seventy men. He made

the journey of about one hundred and seventy-five miles, across the present state of Illinois, in eighteen days. He and his men were compelled to undergo the greatest of hardships. There were no bridges and no roads worthy of the name, but the little band pressed on through forest, swamp, and river, in the midst of floating ice and pelting snow, and much of the time on starvation rations. Near the close of the journey a deer was shot and brought to camp, and was said to have "saved the expedition." When Clark and his men finally reached Fort Sackville, as the British had named the post, they were in a sorry plight and in no condition to assault a stronghold. Yet Clark's courage never faltered. He took Hamilton by surprise, and after a hard fight of a day and a night the post

Clark captured Vincennes, 1779.

surrendered on February 25, 1779. Although some of Clark's men were not able to stand alone after dragging themselves repeatedly out of swamps and rivers, they were very effective at Fort Sackville.

They were the best marksmen in the world. As soon as the British opened a porthole to look out, the opening was filled with bullets from the rifles of the backwoodsmen. Dismay and surrender followed, and Fort Sackville became Fort Patrick Henry, by which name it was known for ten years.

The fall of this post gave the Northwest Territory to the colonists, and when peace was made in 1783 it became a part of the United States. Clark's expedition was thus one of the most important and successful ever undertaken in America.

In return for this heroic service, Clark and his men were given a tract of about one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land on the Ohio River. This land is within the present counties of Jefferson, Clark, and Scott, and is still known as "Clark's Grant." The grant, however, did not bring him happiness. The latter part of the life of the great soldier and adventurer was blighted by poverty, sickness, and intemperance, until death came to his relief in 1818.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIANA TERRITORY

7. Virginia ceded the Northwest Territory to the General Government, 1784. — Having conquered the Northwest Territory, Virginia proceeded to take possession of it and to set up a form of government. Fort Patrick Henry (Vincennes) was made the seat of the government, and the territory was known as "Illinois County." Soon after, on March 1, 1784, Virginia turned over its claim to the United States. The transfer was made by deed, and the territory is described as "Territory Northwestward of the River Ohio." Hence the "Northwest Territory" comprised the present states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and a small part of Minnesota.

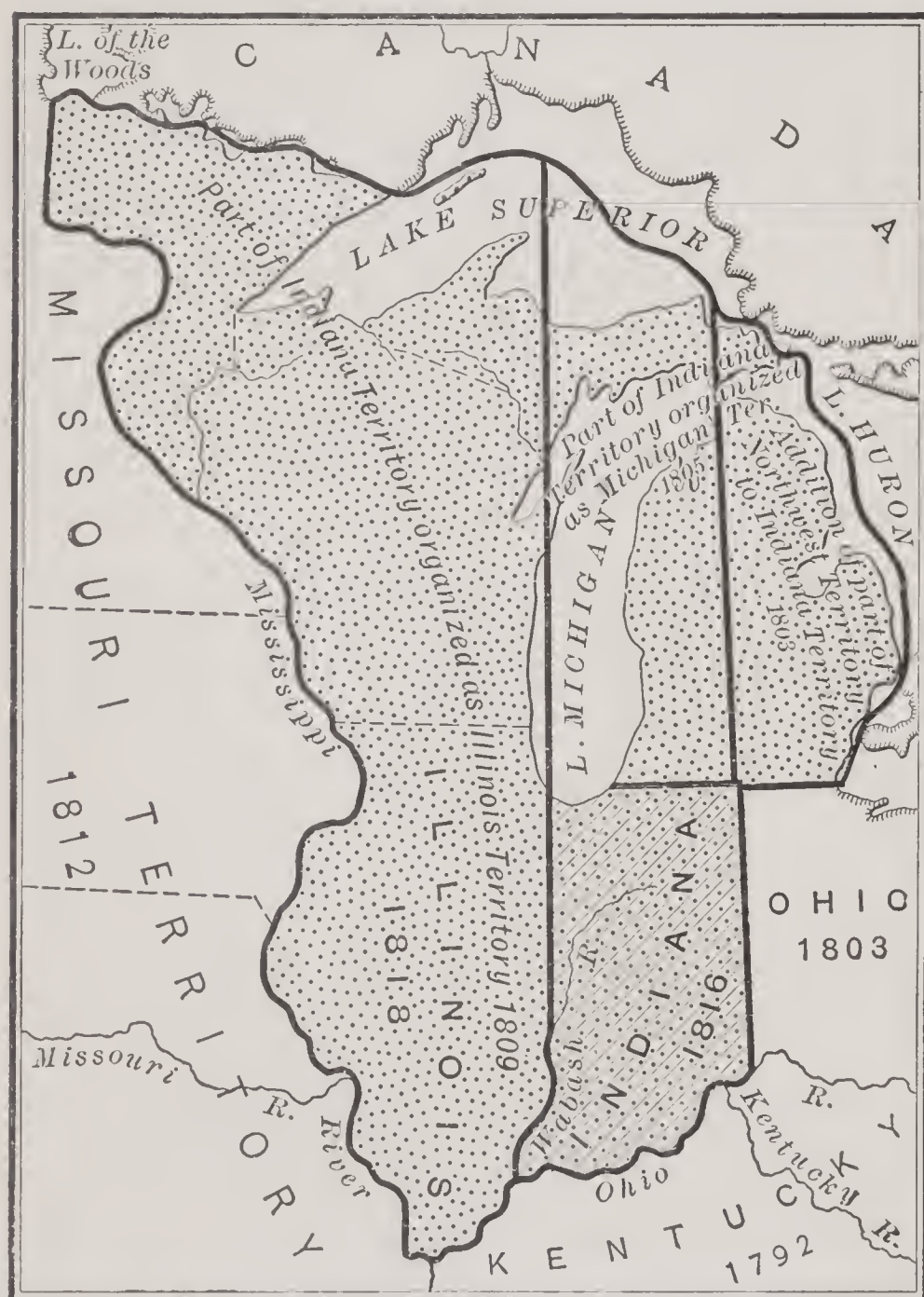
8. Ordinance of 1787. — In this same year, 1784, Congress framed a temporary government for the territory, and three years later a permanent one in the form of the Ordinance of 1787 was established. This ordinance, which was a most enlightened document, encouraged religion, education, and morality, and prohibited the existence of slavery in the territory. It also provided that the territory should, in due time, be cut up into five states¹ (§ 198).

Marietta, Ohio, became the capital of the Northwest Territory, and Major-General Arthur St. Clair was appointed governor in July, 1788. In 1790 Knox County, extending from the Ohio to the Great Lakes, and including nearly all of Indiana and a part of Illinois, was organized, with Vincennes as the county seat.

9. Northwest Territory was divided, 1800. Indiana Territory formed. — In 1800 Congress divided the Northwest Territory into two parts by a line running almost due north and south and near the boundary line between Indiana and Ohio. According to the act the dividing line ran from the mouth of the Kentucky

¹ The first plan for the government of the territory provided that the states be named as follows: Sylvania, Cherronesus, Michigania, Washington, Metropotamia, Assenisippia, Saratoga, Illinoia, Pelisipia, and Polypotamia. It seems fortunate now that these names were not adopted.

River to Fort Recovery (east of Jay County, Indiana), and thence along a meridian passing from the mouth of the Great Miami to the northern boundary of the United States. The land east of this line still retained the name "Northwest Territory,"



THE INDIANA TERRITORY.

Indiana Territory was reduced in 1805 and again in 1809. After the second reduction its boundaries were nearly the same as the present state boundaries. For the details see the opposite page.

There was no territorial Legislature for five years and the laws were made by the Governor and judges. General Harrison did not assume the duties of his office until January, 1801, and in the meantime John Gibson served as acting Governor. In fact, Gibson was the only active officer in the territory for six months after its organization. Harrison served as Governor until 1812.

while that to the west was called "Indiana Territory." Vincennes was the capital of Indiana Territory, and William Henry Harrison was the first territorial governor. The executive journal begins as follows: "St. Vincennes, July 4, 1800. This day the government of the Indiana Territory commenced, William Henry Har-

ison having been appointed Governor, July 4, 1800.

John Gibson Secretary, William Clarke, Henry Vanderburg & John Griffin Judges in and over said Territory."

10. Population. — The population of Indiana Territory in 1800 was 5641. Vincennes had a population of 714, and there were 819 people in the vicinity of that place. There were about 2500 persons in what is now the state of Indiana.

11. First Legislature, 1805. — Indiana's first territorial Legislature met at Vincennes in 1805, and proceeded to enact laws. It was not long, however, before the boundaries of Indiana Territory were greatly reduced.

12. Territory of Michigan was set off, 1805. — The population of the new West was increasing, and in 1805 another division of territory seemed advisable. In that year Congress set off Michigan (formerly known as Wayne County) as a separate territory. It was provided that the territory of Michigan should embrace that part of Indiana Territory lying north of a line drawn due east from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan and intersecting Lake Erie. The western boundary was a line drawn from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, through the middle of the lake to its northern end, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States. The territory of Michigan thus contained a small part of the land now included in Ohio and Indiana.

13. Illinois Territory set off, 1809. — In 1809 Indiana Territory was still further reduced. All of the land west of the present western boundary of Indiana was set off by act of Congress, and called "Illinois Territory."

By 1809, then, Indiana was reduced to about its present boundaries. When the territory was admitted as a state in 1816, its northern boundary was pushed ten miles to the north into Michigan. Otherwise the boundaries remained the same. It is probable, however, that in 1809 Congress intended to have the boundary line between Indiana and Illinois extend due north from Vincennes to Lake Michigan. This line now stops at its intersection with the Wabash River in Vigo County, thus giving Indiana a small strip of land which would otherwise be a part of Illinois.

In 1809, then, Indiana started out upon her individual career.

Her area was practically what it is to-day. The Indians, however, still had possession of about two thirds of the land. Agriculture was the principal occupation of the whites, although some manufacturing was being carried on. In 1810 Indiana had 33 grist mills, 14 saw mills, 18 tanneries, 28 distilleries, 3 powder mills, 1256 looms, and 1356 spinning wheels. The value of the manufactured articles for 1810 is estimated at \$200,000.



THE OLD STATE HOUSE AT CORYDON.

This building was the Capitol of Indiana from 1813 to 1825. It was built of limestone from the adjacent bluffs and is a solid structure to-day. The walls of the first story are two and a half feet in thickness. The building is forty feet square. It is now the Court House of Harrison County. This picture was made from a recent photograph.

The surplus products of the country were sent down the rivers in flatboats and barges to New Orleans. The steamboat had not yet appeared. The first steamer to run on the Ohio River was built at Pittsburg in 1811 by Nicholas J. Roosevelt. She made the trip from Pittsburg to New Orleans in fourteen days. In 1823 the first steamboat appeared on the Wabash River.

14. Capital removed from Vincennes to Corydon in 1813. — Vincennes continued to be the capital of Indiana Territory until 1813. At that time the seat of the government was removed to Corydon, the present county seat of Harrison county. The State House, which was erected at this time, still stands and is now the County Court House.



THE CONSTITUTIONAL ELM.

A large part of the work of the constitutional convention which drafted the Indiana constitution of 1816 was done in the shade of a spreading elm which still stands at Corydon. The above picture was from a recent photograph.

15. Battle of Tippecanoe. — When the Legislature of the territory met at Corydon for the first time, the War of 1812 was going on.

The Indians were greatly interested in the difficulty between Great Britain and the United States, and thought the time a favorable one to expel the whites from all parts of the Indiana Territory except the southern. A conspiracy was formed for that purpose. Fortunately for the people of the territory, General William Henry Harrison was the Governor. He immediately started against the Indians on the upper Wabash. He

encamped seven miles north of La Fayette, where the village of Battle Ground now stands, and placed his nine hundred men on an elevated spot of land on the bank of what is now Burnett's Creek. On the early morning of November 7, 1811, he was surprised by the Indians, who made a sudden and savage attack upon his men and shot them down by the light of their own camp fires. Harrison's forces rallied, however, and soon put the redskins to rout. The battle was decisive. It crushed the power of the Indians in Indiana, and helped the Americans in the War of 1812. Thirty-seven of Harrison's men

William
Henry Har-
rison de-
feated the
Indians at
Battle
Ground,
Nov. 7,
1811.



TIPPECANOE BATTLEFIELD.

Harrison defeated the Indians here on November 7, 1811. An attempt is being made to secure funds for the erection of a suitable monument.

were killed and twenty-five afterward died of their wounds. One hundred and twenty-six others were less seriously wounded. Thirty-eight Indians were left dead upon the field. The number of the savages engaged in the battle will never be known. It has been estimated at from three hundred and fifty to one thousand.

A clause in the present constitution of Indiana provides that "it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide for the permanent inclosure and preservation of the Tippecanoe Battle Ground." The scene of the battle is now inclosed by a high iron fence. The grounds are well kept and are open to the public at all times.

16. Indiana was admitted to the Union in 1816. — Soon after the removal of the seat of government to Corydon, the people of Indiana began to think seriously of statehood. A census was taken by order of the Legislature, and it was found that there were 63,897 people in the thirteen counties of the terri-



tory. On December 14, 1815, the Legislature petitioned Congress to admit Indiana as a state. Congress responded promptly, and an Enabling Act was passed on April 19, 1816. This act provided for an election in May, 1816. At this election delegates were chosen who met at Corydon on June 10 and framed the constitution of 1816. The weather was very warm and much of the work of the convention was done in the shade of a spreading elm which stood near by. This "constitutional elm" is still standing, and is one of the most interesting landmarks in the state. The convention finished its work in eighteen days, and in August following an election was held for state officers and members of the General Assembly. Jonathan Jennings was elected Governor, and the General Assembly met in November of 1816. James Noble and Wallace Taylor were then chosen the first United States Senators, and on December 11, 1816, the state of Indiana was formally admitted into the Union by a resolution of Congress.

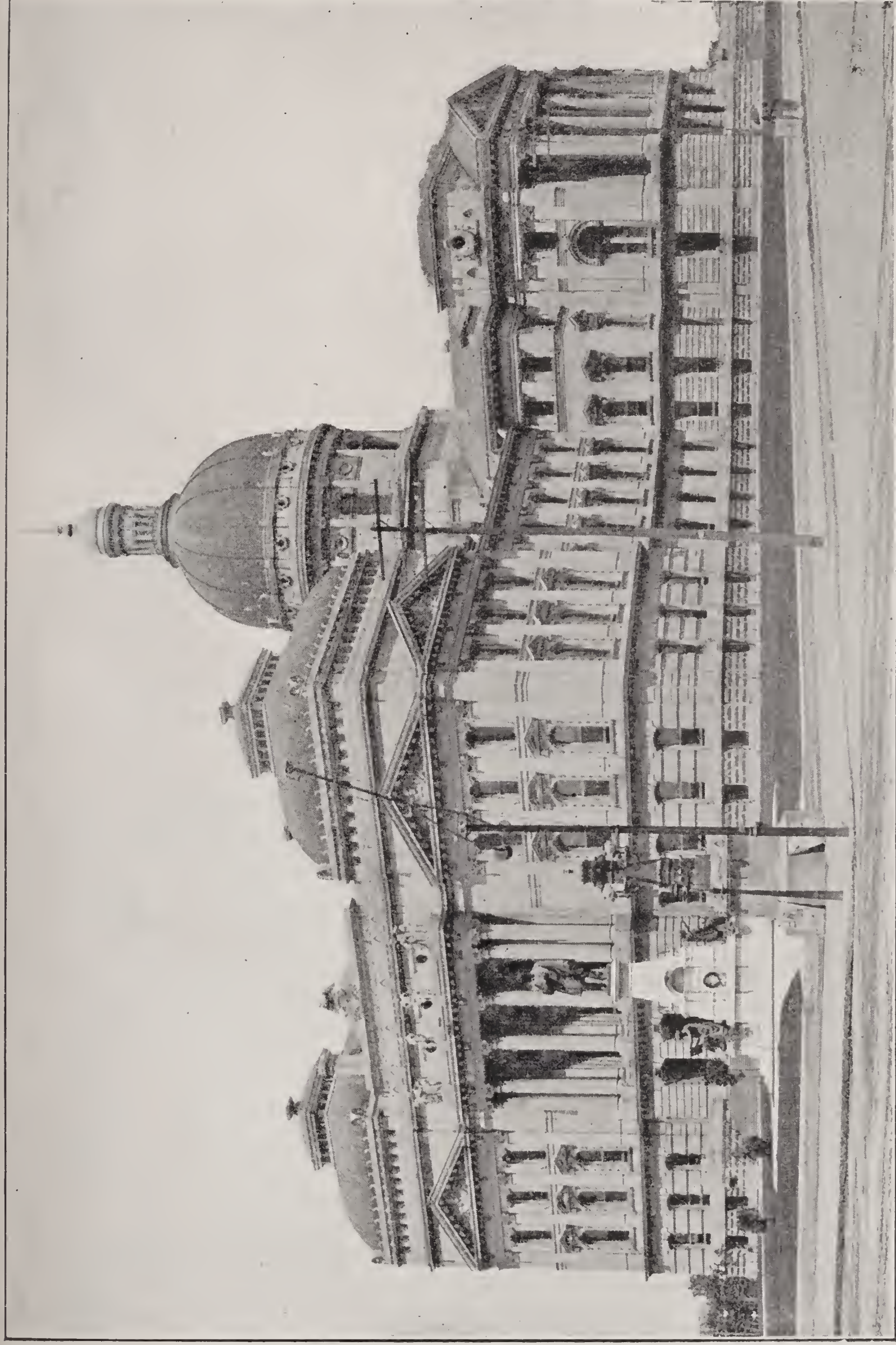
17. Slavery in Indiana. — The most important topic for discussion in those days in Indiana was the slavery question. Notwithstanding the fact that slavery had been prohibited in the Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787, many people still continued to hold slaves. The Ordinance did not free those already in slavery and was not looked upon as retroactive. In 1800 there were, according to the census, one hundred and seventy-five slaves in Indiana. In 1820 there were one hundred and ninety, and in 1840 there were only three.

When Indiana was about to be made a state, the people became greatly excited over the slavery question. It was the one great issue of the time. After an exciting campaign the anti-slavery forces were victorious. They had a majority in the election of May, 1816, and the constitutional convention put a clause against slavery in the new constitution. When it was finally decided that slavery should be prohibited in the new state, there was great rejoicing, and the word went from mouth to mouth, "She has come in free!" "She has come in free!"

18. Capital removed from Corydon to Indianapolis, 1825. — After Indiana became a state, the capital still remained at Corydon, but preparations were soon made to remove it to a more central location. By an act of 1816 Congress appropriated four sections (2560 acres) of land for a new capital. In 1820 commissioners were appointed to select the location, and they chose four sections where the city of Indianapolis now stands. At that time Connersville, sixty miles away, was the white settlement nearest to the site of the future capital. In 1825 the seat of government was removed for the last time, and some of the officers occupied a Court House built at Indianapolis by the state. The General Assembly, or Legislature, met in this building for ten years. In 1835 a new brick State House was built on the site of the present Capitol at a cost of \$60,000. It was the finest building in the West, and was used for about forty years. For ten years, from 1877 to 1887, the General Assembly met in the Indianapolis Court House, the old Capitol being deemed unsafe. In 1887 the present State House was finished and occupied. Ten years were required to build it, and the cost was \$1,980,969. It occupies two squares and furnishes official homes for the state officers, the Senate, the House of Representatives, the Supreme and Appellate Courts, the State Library, and other organizations of the state.

19. Early Churches. — The French Jesuits brought their religious services wherever they went. The mass was said in the open forest and in the wigwam for decades before a house of worship was constructed. The first church of which we have record in Indiana is a Roman Catholic chapel in Vincennes. The records of this church go back to April 21, 1749, and for half a century this rude log structure was the only church in the territory.

The second church in Indiana was probably the log church built by the Methodists in 1802, and still standing, about two miles from Charlestown. In 1804 a Baptist church was built on Silver Creek near Charlestown, and in 1815 a Presbyterian church was erected near Vincennes.



THE INDIANA STATE CAPITOL BUILDING AT INDIANAPOLIS.

The Indiana Capitol is located on Washington Street and occupies nearly ten acres of land. It is 496 feet long, 285 feet wide, and the top of the dome is 234 feet high. The legislative halls and the offices of the state officials are in this building.



20. Roads and Canals. — Transportation facilities in the new state were not good. The rivers and rude roads cut through the forests were the highways over which the pioneer had to travel. Later, the national government gave its assistance by building the "national road" from the seacoast to the Mississippi valley. It was an excellent highway. Starting from Baltimore, after passing through Cumberland (Maryland) and Columbus (Ohio), it came to Richmond, Greenfield, Indianapolis, Greencastle, and Terre Haute. The road was laid out to St. Louis, but was never finished. In fact, a part of the road in western Indiana was never completed. The road passed along Washington Street, Indianapolis, by the Capitol, and over the White River by means of a bridge which stood until a year or two ago. The abutments of this bridge are still in place and its location may be easily seen.

The Michigan Road was built by the state of Indiana. It, too, was a wag-
on road. It began

Michigan
Road.

at Madison, on the Ohio River, and passed through Indianapolis and Logansport to Michigan City. Part of the road was made of plank and the whole was very expensive.



SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' MONUMENT AT INDIANAPOLIS.

The state of Indiana built this monument in memory of the Indiana men who fought in the army and navy in the wars of the nation from the Revolutionary and Indian wars to the War for the Union. The monument was built in ten years, being completed in 1897. Its entire height is 284 feet and six inches above the level of the street, and the shaft is surmounted by a bronze statue of "Victory," which is 38 feet high. Its foundation covers 3657 square feet, and is 30 feet deep. Two stone groups of statuary represent "Peace" and "War," and the bronze ornaments on the shaft symbolize the Army and the Navy. The inscription upon the monument is: "To Indiana's Silent Victors."

The United States government appropriated one hundred and seventy thousand acres of land to assist in the project.

21. Wabash and Erie Canal.— The new state was also enterprising in canal building. The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 stimulated internal improvements everywhere, and that year Governor Ray of Indiana advocated in his message “the construction of roads and canals . . . as the safest and most certain state policy.” Two years later the national government gave to Indiana a grant of land to be used in the construction of a canal from Lake Erie to the Wabash River. A part of this land was given over to Ohio with the understanding that that state should build the canal from Lake Erie to the western boundary of Indiana. It was planned to carry the canal from this line to some point on the Wabash, below which the river was navigable. The work began in 1832, and the Wabash and Erie Canal was constructed from the Ohio line to southern Indiana, by way of La Fayette. It was for many years an important highway of commerce. It has long since been abandoned, however, and inter-urban cars and the trains of the Wabash Railway are running along its former course.

It does not seem necessary to review the more recent history of the state, as the history of Indiana since 1816 has been merged into the history of the United States.

STATE GOVERNMENT : THE CONSTITUTION

22. History of the Constitution. — The first constitution of the state of Indiana, framed under the old elm at Corydon, remained in force until 1851. The present constitution went into effect on November 1 of that year. It was framed by a convention of delegates, and was later approved or adopted by the people. An analysis of this constitution will be of interest.

23. The Bill of Rights. — After the preamble of the constitution there follows a “Bill of Rights” of thirty-seven sections. In this bill certain rights and liberties are guaranteed to the

people of the state. Religious freedom is secured, and it is provided that "no religious test shall be required as a qualification for an office of trust or profit." All religious denominations are placed upon the same footing, and "no money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious or theological institution."

Religious
freedom
guaranteed.

Freedom of speech is also guaranteed, but for the abuse of this right a person is held responsible.

Freedom
of speech
is guaran-
teed.

The American people had had trouble over the Writs of Assistance in revolutionary times, hence "unreasonable search or seizure" was declared unlawful.

"All courts shall be open; . . . justice shall be administered freely and without purchase; completely, and without denial; speedily, and without delay." Provisions were also made to give a person accused of crime a fair and speedy trial, and the last section of the bill prohibited slavery and "involuntary servitude."

24. Legislative Department. — The powers of the government are divided, as is customary, among the three great departments, the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial.

The legislative power of the state is vested in a "General Assembly," which consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

The Senate now consists of fifty members, and according to the constitution the number cannot exceed fifty. They are elected for terms of four years, and one half of them go out of office every two years. In like manner the House of Representatives consists of one hundred members. Both senators and representatives are chosen by the qualified male voters of the state. The representatives hold office for two years. "Senators shall be at least twenty-five, and representatives at least twenty-one years of age."

The Sen-
ate has
fifty mem-
bers and
the House
one hun-
dred.

Members of the General Assembly are granted the customary "freedom of speech" and "freedom from arrest."

The General Assembly meets once in two years at the capital

of the state, and the sessions begin "on the Thursday next after the first Monday in January." Special or extra sessions may be called by the Governor.

Two thirds of the members of each house constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

"Either house may punish its members for disorderly behavior, and may, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member; but not a second time for the same cause."

A bill in order to become a law must be passed by the two houses and signed by the Governor. "Bills may originate in either house, but may be amended or rejected in the other, except that bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives."

Revenue bills must originate in House of Representatives.

An act of the General Assembly must be confined to *one* subject, and that subject must be expressed in the title of the act. It is also provided that the wording of every act shall be plain, and that "the use of technical terms" shall be avoided as far as practicable.

A majority of all the members elected to each house is necessary for the passage of a bill, and when a bill is so passed it is signed by the Lieutenant-Governor, who is the presiding officer of the Senate, and by the Speaker, who presides over the House. It then goes to the Governor for his approval.

As soon as the laws are printed and distributed to the various counties, they are declared by the Governor to be in force. In case of emergency, the General Assembly may put a law into effect immediately after its passage.

A regular session of the General Assembly is limited to sixty-one days (including Sundays) and a special session to forty days.

25. Executive Department. — The executive power is vested in the Governor. He is elected by the people, holds his office for a term of four years, and is not eligible "more than for four years in any period of eight

The Governor is the chief executive officer.

years." This means that he cannot be reëlected until after some one else has served for a term. He must be at least thirty years of age. His term begins on the second Monday in January.

In the case of death, resignation, or other disability of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor takes his place.

The Governor is the commander-in-chief of the state troops, and may use such troops to execute the laws, or to suppress insurrection.

The Governor may veto bills, but such bills may be passed over his veto by a majority of all of the members Governor
may veto
bills. elected to each house.

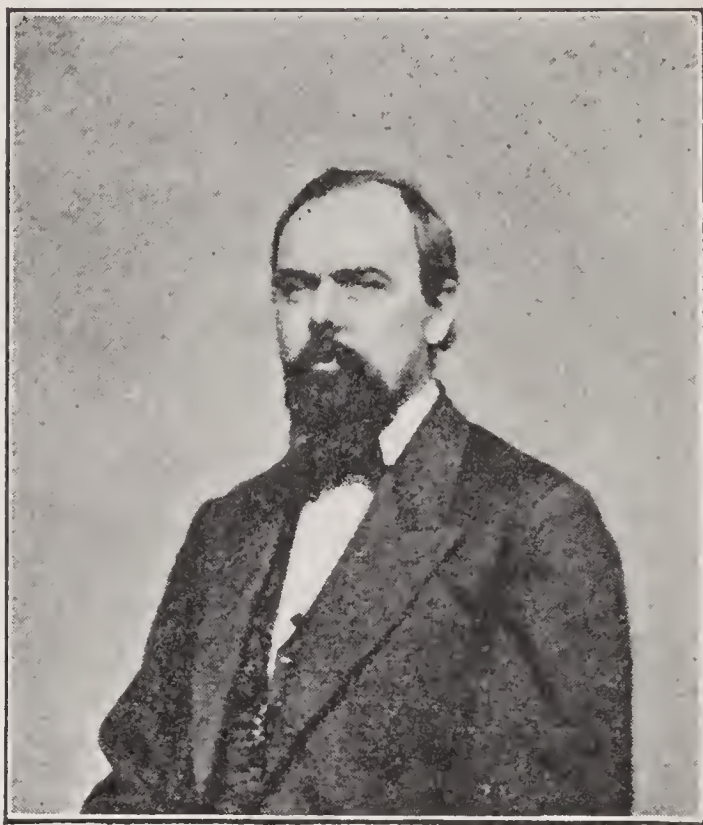
The Governor receives a compensation for his services, which compensation may not be increased or diminished during his term of office.

Provision is also made in the constitution for state, county, and township officers.

26. Judicial Department. — The judicial power of the state is vested "in a Supreme Court, in Circuit Courts, and in such other courts as the General Assembly may establish." The Supreme Court must consist of not less than three judges and not more than five. They hold their office for six years, "if they so long behave well."

The Circuit Court consists of one judge with civil and criminal jurisdiction. The judge is elected for a term of six years.

The Supreme and Circuit judges receive compensations, which cannot be diminished while they continue in office.



OLIVER PERRY MORTON.

Lawyer, judge, and statesman. Born in 1823, he became a prominent leader in Indiana and in the nation. He was a strong supporter of the Union and made many eloquent speeches in its behalf. He became Governor in 1860, and was foremost among the vigorous "War Governors." He displayed great energy in raising and equipping troops. He was a United States Senator for ten years and died in 1877.

In Indiana there is no examination for admission to the bar. "Every person of good moral character, being a voter, shall be entitled to admission to practice law in all courts of justice."

27. Miscellaneous Provisions. — Education has always been encouraged in Indiana. The present constitution makes it the duty of the General Assembly "to encourage, by all suitable means, moral, intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement, and to provide by law for a general and uniform system of common schools, wherein tuition shall be without charge, and
 Educa- equally open to all." There is also a State Superin-
 tion. tendent of Public Instruction, who holds office for two years, and who has general supervision of the educational interests of the state. The State Normal School, at Terre Haute, the State University at Bloomington, and Purdue University at La Fayette were founded by the state, and are supported by the state for the most part.

The constitution also makes it the duty of the General Assembly to care for the education of the deaf, dumb, and blind, and for the treatment of the insane. The reformation of young criminals is provided for, and it is expressly stated in the Bill of Rights that "the penal code shall be founded on the principles of reformation and not of vindictive justice." County poor asylums are also provided for.

The militia of the state consists of all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. "No person
 Militia. conscientiously opposed to bearing arms shall be compelled to do militia duty; but such person shall pay an equivalent for exemption." Only a small part of the above, of course, are in active militia companies.

The boundaries of the state as they were prescribed by act of Congress are also set forth in the constitution. The state is
 Bounda- bounded on the east by the meridian line which forms
 ries. the western boundary of Ohio; on the south by the Ohio River, from the mouth of the Great Miami to the mouth of the Wabash; on the west by a line along the middle of the Wabash River from its mouth to a point where a due

north line, drawn from Vincennes, would last touch the north-western shore of the Wabash River, and thence by a due north line, "until the same shall intersect an east and west line drawn through a point ten miles north of the southern extreme of Lake Michigan; and on the north by said east and west line," until it meets the western boundary of Ohio.

It is declared that the state of Indiana has "concurrent jurisdiction, in civil and criminal cases, with the state of Kentucky on the Ohio River, and with the state of Illinois on the Wabash River, so far as said rivers form the common boundary between this state and said states respectively."

It is provided that "no county shall be reduced to an area less than four hundred square miles; nor shall any county under this area be further reduced."

28. Some State Officers. — The constitution makes it the duty of the Governor to see that the laws of the state are faithfully enforced. There are several other important officers, however, who assist in the carrying out of the laws. One of these is the Secretary of State. He is the keeper of the official records, such as the laws and resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the constitution of the state. He signs many papers as a witness, and attaches to them the great seal of state. Without this seal most official documents would be void.

The Secretary of State.

The Auditor is the state's bookkeeper. He keeps an account of all the money received and paid out by the state. No money can be paid out of the treasury except by the order of the Auditor. He has general supervision of state banks and of all insurance companies doing business in the state. The duties of his office are exceedingly important and his records are voluminous.

The Auditor is the state's bookkeeper.

The Treasurer has charge of all the funds of the state. He receives money from many sources and pays it out upon order or "warrant" of the Auditor made in accordance with law. He must also have an order from the Auditor before receiving money. There are vaults

The Treasurer has charge of state funds.

in the State House for the safe keeping of the moneys of the state.

The Attorney-General is the state's lawyer. It is his duty to give legal advice to the Governor and other state officers upon request. He must also, when asked to do so, give the Senate or House of Representatives an opinion upon the constitutionality of an existing or proposed law. He brings suits in behalf of the state, and in some cases, defends the state in suits. He also collects money due the state.

Every four years the state elects a man "skilled in geology and natural science." This officer is the State Geologist. His time is occupied for the most part with a geological survey of the state. He gives particular attention to the discovery of the minerals, rocks, and other natural resources of the state. He also has charge of a museum in the State House.

It is the duty of the State Statistician to collect and to publish statistics relating to the agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, and education of the state as well as to supply information on several other subjects. There is no end to the work which he may do, and he often takes up some particular subject for the work of a year.

The State Librarian has charge of the general library of the state, which is located in the Capitol building. The Librarian performs a valuable service in collecting manuscripts, pamphlets, and other historical material relating to the history of Indiana and the Northwest.

The charitable and correctional interests of the state are under the supervision of the Board of State Charities, of which the Secretary is the active officer. The Secretary has an office in the State House and exercises a general supervision over the jails, reformatories, poor asylums, and other charitable and correctional institutions of the state.

There are now thirteen such institutions supported by the

state, as follows: Central Hospital for Insane, at Indianapolis; Northern Hospital for Insane, at Logansport; Eastern Hospital for Insane, at Richmond; Southern Hospital for Insane, at Evansville; State Soldiers' Home, at La Fayette; Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home at Knightstown; Institution for the Deaf, at Indianapolis; Institution for the Blind, at Indianapolis; School for Feeble-minded Youth, at Fort Wayne; State Prison, at Michigan City; Reformatory, at Jeffersonville; Industrial School for Girls, and Woman's Prison, at Indianapolis; and the Indiana Boys' School, at Plainfield. The Legislature of 1903 made an appropriation for the establishment of a new Industrial School for Girls, and a site for the institution has been purchased a short distance from Indianapolis. This will separate the Industrial School from the Woman's Prison. The Legislature of 1905 made provisions for a Village for Epileptics, and Newcastle has been determined upon as the location of the institution. Provision has also been made for a Southeastern Hospital for the Insane to be located at Madison.

The running expenses of the above state institutions for the year ending October 31, 1903, amounted to \$1,425,752.69. In addition to this vast sum, the townships and counties also spend large amounts for the same general purpose. The expenditures for public charities and corrections in Indiana now amount to about \$2,750,000 per year. A few years ago this expenditure was more than \$3,000,000. In recent years the money has been expended more wisely. The "new charity" helps a man to help himself.

29. Counties and County Officers. — Local government is well developed in the United States. In addition to the state officers we also have county, township, and city officers. The state of Indiana is divided into ninety-two counties. The oldest of these is Knox, and the newest is Newton, which was organized in 1859. A Board of County Commissioners consisting of three men has charge of the general affairs of each county. The County Auditor is the clerk of the board.

The County Auditor is the bookkeeper for the county. He is also the keeper of the seal of the county, and no money can be paid out of the treasury except on his order or warrant.

County Auditor.

The Clerk of the Circuit Court, or the "County Clerk," as he is frequently called, attends the sessions of the Circuit and Superior courts of the county and keeps the official records of their proceedings. He also issues marriage licenses and keeps election returns.

Clerk.

The County Treasurer receives money due the county and pays it out upon order of the Auditor. His most important duty is to collect the taxes assessed in the county. He turns over a part of the money thus collected to the Treasurer of State.

Treasurer.

The County Recorder makes a record of deeds, mortgages, and some other important county documents. These documents are copied in books which are provided for the purpose and which are open to public inspection. They show to whom the land of the county belongs.

Recorder.

The Sheriff is the peace officer of the county. He has charge of the prisoners and the county jail, and attends the county courts to keep order. He summons witnesses and has charge of the jury. He is the chief executive officer of the county and executes the orders of the courts.

Sheriff.

The County Coroner holds an inquest or inquiry over the body of a person supposed to have been killed by violence or accident. If he finds that a crime has been committed, he issues a warrant for the arrest of the supposed criminal.

Coroner.

The County Surveyor surveys the lands of the county, when requested to do so, finds lines of division, and locates corners. A permanent record is made of the surveys.

Surveyor.

30. The Township. — Each county is subdivided into townships. There are 1016 townships in the state of Indiana. The most important officer is the Trustee. He receives all money due to the township and pays it out according to law. He is

the manager of all property belonging to the township, and has charge of the poor, the highways, and the schools.

31. Towns and Cities. — The towns and cities of Indiana with the exception of those having special charters are governed under a special act of the General Assembly passed in 1905. This act, entitled "An Act concerning Municipal Corporations," is voluminous and complicated. It may be found in the "Acts," 1905, pp. 217-410.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1669. La Salle entered Indiana.
- 1720. First Settlement in Indiana (Ouiatanon).
- 1727. Second Settlement (first permanent one), Vincennes.
- 1779. George Rogers Clark took Vincennes.
- 1790. Knox County organized.
- 1800. Indiana Territory organized.
- 1805. First Territorial Legislature met.
- 1805. Michigan set off from Indiana Territory.
- 1809. Illinois set off from Indiana Territory.
- 1811. Battle of Tippecanoe.
- 1800-1813. Vincennes the Capital.
- 1813-1825. Corydon the Capital.
- 1825-. Indianapolis the Capital.
- 1816. Indiana admitted as a State.

REFERENCES

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Who was the first white man to explore the present state of Indiana?
2. Where were the first settlements made in Indiana? When?
3. What is the oldest *permanent* town in Indiana?
4. Who were the "wood rangers"?
5. Give an account of the work of George Rogers Clark.
6. What was its importance?
7. When and how was "Indiana Territory" established?
8. How was this territory reduced at later dates?
9. Tell what you can of the battle of Tippecanoe and its importance.
10. When was Indiana made a state?
11. Where was the Michigan Road located?
12. What was the importance of the Wabash and Erie Canal?
13. When was the present constitution of Indiana made?
14. What is the nature of the Bill of Rights?
15. How often does the General Assembly meet? Of how many members is it composed?
16. Make a list of the powers of the Governor.
17. What are the duties of the Secretary of State?
18. What are the duties of the Auditor of State?
19. What are the duties of the Treasurer of State?
20. What are the duties of the Attorney-General?
21. What are the duties of the State Geologist?
22. What are the duties of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics?
23. What are the duties of the State Librarian?
24. What are the duties of the Board of State Charities and Corrections?
25. Make a list of the county officers, with their principal duties.
26. What are the duties of the township Trustee?

APPENDIX

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of

people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise ; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States :

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world :

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent :

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury :

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies :

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments :

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & peridy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is in undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms : Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States ; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved ; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire—JOSIAH BARTLETT, WM. WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay—SAML. ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBT. TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island—STEP. HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut—ROGER SHERMAN, SAM'EL HUNTINGTON, WM. WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York—WM. FLOYD, PHIL. LIVINGSTON, FRANS. LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey — RICH'D. STOCKTON, JNO. WITHERSPOON, FRAS. HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRA. CLARK.

Pennsylvania — ROBT. MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJA. FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEO. CLYMER, JAS. SMITH, GEO. TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEO. ROSS.

Delaware — CÆSAR RODNEY, GEO. READ, THO. M'KEAN.

Maryland — SAMUEL CHASE, WM. PACA, THOS. STONE, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Virginia — GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, TH. JEFFERSON, BENJA. HARRISON, THOS. NELSON, jr., FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina — WM. HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

South Carolina — EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOS. HEYWARD, Junr., THOMAS LYNCH, Junr., ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia — BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEO. WALTON.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of

Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative ; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years ; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year ; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year ; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside : and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States ; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof ; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business ; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceeding, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same ; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time ; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives ; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States ; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the

names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States ; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States ;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States ;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes ;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

To establish post-offices and post-roads ;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations ;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

To provide and maintain a navy ;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions ;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States ; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with

another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress ; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each ; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President ; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.] ¹

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President ; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of

¹ This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See twelfth article of the Amendments.

removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he may have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation :

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION II.

The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States ; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur ; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law ; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient ; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper ; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers ; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls ; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party ; to controversies between two or more States ; between a State and citizens of another State ; between citizens of different States ; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury ; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed ; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union ; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State ; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution ; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW HAMPSHIRE — John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS — Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT — William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK — Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY — William Livingston, David Brearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA — Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE — George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND — James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA — John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA — William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA — John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA — William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest : William Jackson, *Secretary*.

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press ; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger ; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb ; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law ; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall

be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in

aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave ; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The Federal Convention which framed the Constitution met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, and completed its work September 17. The number of delegates chosen to the convention was sixty-five; ten did not attend; sixteen declined signing the Constitution, or left the convention before it was ready to be signed; thirty-nine signed.

The States ratified the Constitution in the following order : —

Delaware	December 7, 1787	Maryland	April 28, 1788
Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787	South Carolina	May 23, 1788
New Jersey	December 18, 1787	New Hampshire	June 21, 1788
Georgia	January 2, 1788	Virginia	June 25, 1788
Connecticut	January 9, 1788	New York	July 26, 1788
Massachusetts	February 6, 1788	North Carolina	November 21, 1789
Rhode Island		May 29, 1790	

The first ten amendments were proposed in 1789, and declared adopted in 1791.
The eleventh amendment was proposed in 1794, and declared adopted in 1798.
The twelfth amendment was proposed in 1803, and declared adopted in 1804.
The thirteenth amendment was proposed and adopted in 1865.
The fourteenth amendment was proposed in 1866, and adopted in 1868.
The fifteenth amendment was proposed in 1869, and adopted in 1870.

STATISTICAL TABLES

PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS

George Washington	1789–1797
John Adams	1797–1801
Thomas Jefferson	1801–1809
James Madison	1809–1817
James Monroe	1817–1825
John Quincy Adams	1825–1829
Andrew Jackson	1829–1837
Martin Van Buren	1837–1841
William H. Harrison and John Tyler	1841–1845
James K. Polk	1845–1849
Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore	1849–1853
Franklin Pierce	1853–1857
James Buchanan	1857–1861
Abraham Lincoln	1861–1865
Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson	1865–1869
Ulysses S. Grant	1869–1877
Rutherford B. Hayes	1877–1881
James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur	1881–1885
Grover Cleveland	1885–1889
Benjamin Harrison	1889–1893
Grover Cleveland	1893–1897
William McKinley	1897–1901
William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt	1901–1905
Theodore Roosevelt	1905–

STATE STATISTICS

STATES				DATE OF ADMISSION	AREA IN SQ. MILES	POPULATION IN 1900
1.	Delaware	The Thirteen Original States			2,050	184,735
2.	Pennsylvania				45,215	6,302,115
3.	New Jersey				7,815	1,883,669
4.	Georgia				59,475	2,216,331
5.	Connecticut				4,990	908,355
6.	Massachusetts				8,315	2,805,346
7.	Maryland				12,210	1,190,050
8.	South Carolina				30,570	1,340,316
9.	New Hampshire				9,305	411,588
10.	Virginia				42,450	1,854,184
11.	New York				49,170	7,268,012
12.	North Carolina				52,250	1,893,810
13.	Rhode Island				1,250	428,556
14.	Vermont admitted		March	4, 1791	9,565	343,641
15.	Kentucky “		June	1, 1792	40,400	2,147,174
16.	Tennessee “		June	1, 1796	42,050	2,020,616
17.	Ohio “		Feb.	19, 1803	41,060	4,157,545
18.	Louisiana “		April	8, 1812	48,720	1,381,625
19.	Indiana “		Dec.	11, 1816	36,350	2,516,462
20.	Mississippi “		Dec.	10, 1817	46,810	1,551,270
21.	Illinois “		Dec.	3, 1818	56,650	4,821,550
22.	Alabama “		Dec.	14, 1819	52,250	1,828,697
23.	Maine “		March	15, 1820	33,040	694,466
24.	Missouri “		Aug.	10, 1821	69,415	3,106,665
25.	Arkansas “		June	15, 1836	53,850	1,311,564
26.	Michigan “		Jan.	26, 1837	58,915	2,420,982
27.	Florida “		March	3, 1845	58,680	528,542
28.	Texas “		Dec.	29, 1845	265,780	3,048,710
29.	Iowa “		Dec.	28, 1846	56,025	2,231,853
30.	Wisconsin “		May	29, 1848	56,040	2,069,042
31.	California “		Sept.	9, 1850	158,360	1,485,053
32.	Minnesota “		May	11, 1858	83,365	1,751,394
33.	Oregon “		Feb.	14, 1859	96,030	413,536
34.	Kansas “		Jan.	29, 1861	82,080	1,470,495
35.	West Virginia “		June	19, 1863	24,780	958,800
36.	Nevada “		Oct.	31, 1864	110,700	42,335
37.	Nebraska “		March	1, 1867	77,510	1,068,539
38.	Colorado “		Aug.	1, 1876	103,925	539,700
39.	North Dakota “		Nov.	3, 1889	70,795	319,146

STATE STATISTICS (Continued)

STATES	DATE OF ADMISSION	AREA IN SQ. MILES	POPULATION IN 1900
40. South Dakota admitted	Nov. 3, 1889	77,650	401,570
41. Montana “	Nov. 8, 1889	146,080	243,329
42. Washington “	Nov. 11, 1889	69,180	518,103
43. Idaho “	July 3, 1890	84,800	161,772
44. Wyoming “	July 10, 1890	97,890	92,531
45. Utah “	Jan. 4, 1896	84,970	276,749

TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES, 1783-1906

Area in 1783	827,000 sq. miles
Louisiana Purchase, 1803	1,171,000 “
Florida, 1819	59,000 “
Texas, 1845	376,000 “
Mexican Cession, 1845	545,000 “
Gadsden Purchase, 1853	45,000 “
Alaska, 1867	577,000 “
Hawaii, 1898	6,500 “
Porto Rico, 1899	3,600 “
Guam, 1899	200 “
The Philippines, 1899	about 127,000 “
Samoa, 1900	80 “

NOTE. — The areas are given in round numbers, and in the cases of the outlying dependencies accurate surveys have not been made in every instance.

AREA OF THE UNITED STATES IN SQUARE MILES

Area in 1790	827,000
Area in 1900	3,750,000
The latter figures include all of the dependencies of the United States.	

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY DECADES

1790	3,929,214
1800	5,308,483
1810	7,239,881
1820	9,638,453
1830	12,866,020

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY DECADES (Continued)

1840 .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17,069,453
1850 .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	23,191,876
1860 .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	31,443,321
1870 .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	38,558,371
1880 .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	50,155,783
1890 .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	62,622,250
1900 .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	75,477,467

If the population of the Philippines and other island dependencies of the United States were added, the total population at the present time would be about 85,000,000.

CHAPTER REVIEWS

CHAPTER I

1. What is meant by the unity of history? 2. What did the Hebrews contribute to the civilization of the world? The Phœnicians? The Greeks? The Romans? 3. What was the importance of the treaty of Verdun? 4. What was the Renaissance? 5. Show the connection between English and American history.

CHAPTER II

1. Tell what you can of the Norse discovery of America. 2. In what locality was Vinland located? 3. Why was the East important? 4. What was the great geographical and commercial problem of the fifteenth century? 5. How did the Portuguese attempt to solve this problem? How, the Spaniards? 6. Why were the American savages called Indians? 7. What was the Pope's line of 1493? 8. Explain the importance of Magellan's famous voyage. 9. How was "America" named? 10. Where was the first permanent colony in the United States founded? Give the date. 11. Who discovered the Mississippi River? When?

CHAPTER III

1. In what ways do the physical features of a country influence its history? 2. Why were the exploration and colonization of the American continent easier from the east toward the west than they would have been in the opposite direction? 3. How could an explorer go from New York harbor to the Pacific, making almost the entire distance by water? 4. Trace on the map other similar routes from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

CHAPTER IV

1. Define a colony. 2. Give six motives for colonization. 3. What relation existed between the Greek colony and the mother country? 4. What relation existed in the seventeenth century between an

English colony and the mother country? 5. Give an account of Raleigh's attempts to found colonies. 6. What was the effect of the defeat of the Spanish Armada? 7. What land was granted to the London Company? What to the Plymouth Company? 8. When and where was the first permanent *English* colony founded in the United States? 9. What was the general character of the Virginia colonists? 10. What was the first representative legislature ever convened in America? Give date. 11. When was slavery introduced into America? How? 12. What was the main purpose in founding the Maryland colony? 13. Why were Locke's *Fundamental Constitutions* a failure? 14. Why was the Georgia colony founded?

CHAPTER V

1. How did the New England colonists differ from those in Virginia? 2. When did the Pilgrim Fathers land in America? What was the "Mayflower Compact"? 3. Why did the Massachusetts Bay Colony grow so rapidly? 4. How was Rhode Island founded? 5. How were the first settlements made in Connecticut? 6. What was the purpose of the New England Confederation? 7. What effect did the English Revolution of 1688 have on the government of the American colonies?

CHAPTER VI

1. What was Hudson looking for when he sailed up the Hudson River? 2. Give an account of the early settlements in New York. 3. Tell what you can of the "Patroon system." 4. What is meant by "religious toleration"? 5. Give an account of the capture of New Netherland by the English. 6. How did William Penn become interested in New Jersey? 7. What kind of man was William Penn? 8. How did Penn get along with the Indians? 9. When and why was Delaware separated from Pennsylvania?

CHAPTER VII

1. Why was slavery more profitable in the South than in the North? 2. What were indentured servants? 3. Tell what you can of the witchcraft delusion. 4. Tell what you can of Mason and Dixon's line. 5. What was Franklin's plan for the union of the colonies? 6. When

and how did the "westward movement" begin? 7. Explain the "right of discovery" theory. 8. How did the English come into contact with the French in America?

CHAPTER VIII

1. Give an account of the explorations of Cartier and Champlain. 2. Tell what you can of Coligny's colony. 3. When and by whom was Quebec founded? 4. How did Champlain get the hatred of the Iroquois Indians? What was the effect? 5. Why did the French wish to get possession of vast areas in America? 6. Where did the French make their explorations? 7. What was the object of the French in using the leaden plates? 8. What wars did France and Great Britain have in America before the French and Indian War? 9. What were the results of these wars? 10. Give the land claims of the French and English in America in 1754.

11. What message did Washington bring to the French in the fall of 1753? 12. What reply did the French give to the message? 13. Did France or England seem the stronger in 1754? 14. Tell what you can of the Albany congress. 15. Why did Braddock fail in America? 16. Why were the Acadians removed from Nova Scotia? Do you think that they were treated justly? Have you read "Evangeline"? 17. When was war formally declared? 18. Tell what you can of William Pitt. 19. What sort of man was Montcalm? 20. What was the importance of the fall of Quebec? 21. What were the provisions of the treaty of 1763?

CHAPTER IX

1. State the result of the treaty of 1763 on the European territorial possessions in America. Show the relation of these territorial changes to the American Revolution. 2. Explain the meaning of the attempt of George III to restore personal government in Great Britain. How did the king control Parliament? 3. What was the difference between English and American representation at the time of the American Revolution? 4. Show how British expenses and debt helped to bring on the quarrel with the mother country. 5. State the three measures of Grenville's ministry which produced the American Revolution. 6. Explain how the British trade laws helped to bring on the

Revolution. 7. Explain the objections to the Writs of Assistance, and tell what Otis did about them. 8. Explain the British quartering policy, and tell why the Americans were opposed to it and what they did about it.

9. What reasons may be given for the British attempt to tax America? 10. Give the substance of the Stamp Act, and tell why Americans resisted it. 11. Explain the American distinction between *internal* and *external* taxes. 12. State the principles announced by the "Stamp Act Congress," 1765. 13. Show how the Revolution was a civil war between two parties rather than a war between two countries. 14. Why did Americans not resist the Declaratory Act? 15. What made the Tories unpopular in America? 16. Explain the Townshend measures. 17. Give an account of Samuel Adams's services in the Revolution. 18. Explain the difficulties Great Britain met with in enforcing her revenue laws in America. 19. Show how the "Boston Massacre" helped to bring on the war. 20. Why did Parliament retain the tea tax in 1770? Show the foolishness of this policy.

21. How did the king and the British rulers look upon the conduct of the colonists? 22. Summarize the rights of the Americans that had been violated before 1774. 23. State briefly the provisions of the three "coercive acts" of Parliament. 24. Can you show that it was not merely paying money that the Americans were objecting to? 25. What was the Quebec Act? How was it a cause of the Revolution? 26. Show how the committees of correspondence helped the colonies to unite. 27. Describe the work of the First Continental Congress and name some of the men who were members of it. 28. What was the "American Association" of 1774? How was its purpose to be carried out? 29. Give an account of the battles of Lexington and Concord. 30. Recite a list of the causes of the American Revolution. What was the most important cause? Give the reason for your answer.

CHAPTER X

1. Give an account of the battle of Bunker Hill and tell why it was important. 2. Describe the character of Washington. 3. What was the sentiment in America about independence up to 1775? 4. For what cause did the Americans take up arms? 5. Recite a number of causes leading the colonists to favor independence. 6. What kind of a book was Paine's "Common Sense"? Tell what influence it had

in promoting independence. 7. Who were the Hessians? What influence did their coming to America have? 8. Recite briefly the history of the Declaration of Independence. 9. What objections were urged against the Declaration? 10. Name the five members of the committee that drafted the Declaration. Who was its author? 11. What principles are set forth by the Declaration of Independence? 12. What charges are brought against King George III in the Declaration? Can you prove these charges? 13. Commit the preamble to the Declaration.

CHAPTER XI

1. What was the first military object of the British in our War for Independence? 2. Give an account of Washington's struggles with the British in the region of New York City, in 1776. 3. Explain what a dark hour it was for the American cause after Washington's retreat across New Jersey. 4. When and why did Thomas Paine write the first number of *The Crisis*? What effect did it have? Quote from it. 5. Explain how the battles of Trenton and Princeton revived the American cause. 6. How did the British general, Howe, take his army to Philadelphia? 7. What battles were fought before he reached that city? 8. How did Washington show his great generalship in these campaigns? 9. What was the purpose of Burgoyne's invasion? Explain the plan of it. 10. Name the principal battles and events in the history of Burgoyne's invasion. 11. Give an account of the battles of Bennington and Oriskany. 12. Name the principal American generals who fought against Burgoyne. 13. By what means was Burgoyne defeated? Who did most to bring this defeat about? To whom did he surrender? How large was his army? 14. Why may the surrender of Burgoyne be called a "turning point" in the Revolutionary War?

15. How did this surrender affect the attitude of France toward America? 16. What did France do for America? 17. Why did France fight for American independence? 18. What plan of reconciliation with America did Lord North propose after the French alliance? Why did America not accept this proposal? 19. What was Spain's attitude toward Great Britain and America during our Revolution? 20. What was the character and purpose of the "Conway Cabal"? 21. Describe Washington's winter at Valley Forge. 22. Give an account of the treason of Charles Lee and the battle of Monmouth.

23. What progress had Great Britain made by the close of 1778 toward subduing America? 24. Give an account of John Paul Jones and his great sea fight. 25. Give an account of Arnold's treason. 26. What influenced Arnold to take such a course? 27. How was Major André captured, and why was he executed? 28. Locate on the map the principal battle fields during the campaigns in the South. (See p. 144.) Trace the line of General Greene's retreat. 29. Give an account of the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown. What was the effect of Cornwallis's surrender? 30. Give the preliminary terms of the treaty of peace agreed to in 1782. 31. How did American success in the Revolution promote better constitutional government in England? 32. Who were the American negotiators in making peace? 33. Why did the American peace negotiators violate their instructions and not inform France of what they were doing? 34. What was the attitude of France and Spain toward the western boundary of the United States? 35. What parts of the peace treaty were disliked by some of the states? Why? 36. Explain the feeling in America toward the Tories. What kind of people were the Tories? 37. What was the "Newburgh Address"? 38. How did Washington show great patriotism at the end of the war? 39. What provision did Congress make for the Revolutionary soldiers? 40. Point out on the map the location of the following places and tell what they are noted for: Ticonderoga, Cowpens, Yorktown, Saratoga, Valley Forge, Bennington, Brandywine Creek, King's Mountain, Bunker Hill, Lexington, West Point, White Plains, Camden, Fort Moultrie, Stony Point, Trenton, Princeton, Germantown. 41. State the principal results of the American Revolution.

CHAPTER XII

1. Name all the instances of union among the colonies before 1774. 2. What was the "Period of the Old Confederation" in American history? Why may this be called a "critical period"? 3. What caused the meeting of the First Continental Congress? 4. To what extent did this Congress act like a government? 5. Why did the colonies resolve on union as soon as they resolved on independence? 6. Trace the steps and describe the process by which the "Old Confederation" was formed. 7. What kind of a general government did the colonies have during most of the War for Independence? 8. Why

was there so much delay in adopting the "Articles of Confederation," or the plan of union? State three reasons. 9. What differences arose between the large states and the small states in forming the Confederation?

10. On what basis were votes allotted among the states under the Articles of Confederation? 11. On what basis were taxes, or expenses, distributed? 12. What was New Jersey's principal objection to the Articles of Confederation? Why did she make this objection? Show that the objection was a good one. 13. What was Maryland's chief objection to the Articles of Confederation? 14. What great service to the Union was rendered by Maryland in making this objection? 15. What states made claims to Western lands? Name the states that had no claims. 16. Show that the Continental Congress was an advisory body rather than a governing body. 17. In what acts did it appear like a national government? 18. What kind of business did this Congress attend to? 19. By what bodies were the people governed from 1774 to 1781? Explain the answer.

20. When and why did the states make new constitutions? 21. What did each of these constitutions provide for? In what respects were they alike? 22. What was the nature of the "Provincial Congresses" in the early days of the Revolution? 23. Show the defects and weaknesses of the "Old Confederation" in the following respects: (a) In the lack of executive power. (b) In the lack of judicial power. (c) In the organization of Congress. (d) In the lack of power to raise revenue. (e) In the lack of power to regulate commerce. (f) In the lack of power to preserve order in the states. (g) In the difficulty in making amendments. 24. Show how rivalry and jealousy existed among the states under the Confederation. 25. Why was the Confederation called "a rope of sand"? 26. Why were the states afraid to give more power to the general government? 27. In what ways were the people worse off after the Revolution than before? 28. What was the cause of Shays's Rebellion? What kind of men were engaged in it? 29. Summarize the causes under the Confederation that led the people to see the necessity of a new constitution. 30. Explain clearly what is meant by the statement that the "Old Confederation" was only a league of states.

31. What was the Ordinance of 1787? 32. Name four reasons why it has become so famous. 33. Describe the ordinance which

became the basis of our public land system. 34. State the causes leading to the settlement of the Northwest Territory. 35. State the result of George Rogers Clark's expedition to the Northwest. 36. What policy did Congress promise to pursue with reference to the Western territory in order to induce the claimant states to yield their claims? 37. Tell how the ownership, government, and settlement of the Northwest helped to "nationalize" the general government. 38. Did the states make the Union or did the Union make the states? Give the reasons for your answer.

CHAPTER XIII

1. Show how the necessity for a common regulation of commerce was influential in bringing about the Constitutional Convention. 2. What purpose and influence had the Annapolis Convention of 1786? 3. State why the Constitutional Convention of 1787 is of great importance. 4. Name the leading members of the Convention from the various states. 5. Who is called the "Father of the Constitution"? What great service did he render during the Convention? 6. For what purpose was the Convention called? Why did the Convention go beyond this purpose? 7. What were the principal sources of the Constitution? 8. What service did Franklin render in the Convention? 9. Name the three principal compromises of the Convention. 10. What was the character of the contest between the large states and the small states? 11. State the differences between the "Virginia Plan" and the "New Jersey Plan."

12. What kind of a plan did Hamilton favor? 13. Explain how the "three-fifths compromise" came about. 14. What was done about the slave trade and the regulation of commerce? 15. What states objected to stopping the slave trade? Why? 16. What states wanted a majority of Congress to regulate commerce? Why? 17. How was the Constitution ratified? 18. On what condition was it to go into operation? 19. Who were its advocates? Its opponents? 20. Why was ratification opposed? 21. What was the "Federalist"? Who were its authors? 22. What is meant by the "bill of rights"? 23. In what sense was the Constitution to be an experiment?

CHAPTER XIV

1. State how the Constitution remedied the defects of the Confederation. 2. State the three departments of the government and their

uses. 3. What limitations were imposed on the powers of the states under the Old Confederation? 4. What new limitations on the states were added by the Constitution? 5. What important new powers were added to the general government? 6. Explain how a new allegiance and a new citizenship were created by the Constitution. 7. State the principal governmental problem in the making of the Constitution. How was this solved? 8. Show how the "supreme-law-of-the-land" clause was the essential feature in the new Constitution, and how it has enabled the new government to maintain its authority.

9. Explain how two allegiances and two citizenships came into conflict in the Civil War. What was the result? 10. How did the national government maintain its authority without coercing the states? 11. Explain how the states are supreme in their own sphere of government. 12. What is the extent of the powers that the United States government may exercise? 13. What is the extent of the powers that may be exercised by the states? 14. What is an *ex post facto* law? 15. Are powers "granted" or "reserved" to the states by the Constitution? Explain the difference. 16. Was the Constitution made by the states or were the states made by the Constitution? 17. What is meant by the rights of the states?

18. Define *monarchy*, *aristocracy*, *democracy*, *republic*, *plutocracy*. 19. Distinguish between a *confederate* republic, a *centralized* republic, and a *federal* republic. What kind is the United States? 20. Did the framers of our Constitution intend to make a *national* government? Give the reason for your answer.

CHAPTER XV

1. When and why was the Presidency created? What is the chief duty of the President? 2. What reasons were given for and against vesting the executive power in one man? 3. State the length of the President's term of office, and state the sense in which a President is not eligible to a third term. What reason can you give for having only one term for the President? 4. Describe fully the mode of electing the President. Name several methods proposed in the Convention of 1787. 5. What is meant by the electoral college? 6. Why was the twelfth amendment adopted, and what did it accomplish? 7. How many electors has each state in the electoral college? 8. When is the Presidential election? 9. What body determines the method of

choosing the electors? By what various methods have Presidential electors been chosen during our history? 10. Explain the "district plan" and its advantages. 11. How does the "common ticket" plan make the large states more important? 12. Is a Presidential elector free to vote for whom he pleases for President? Why? Show how the plan of choosing the President by electors has changed since the beginning of the Constitution. 13. Why was the electoral college created? 14. Explain how the President and Vice President are elected if the electoral college fails to elect.

15. State the qualifications required of the President. 16. How is the President removable? 17. How may a vacancy occur in the President's office? Who then succeeds to the office? 18. What are the qualifications and duties of the Vice President? 19. In case of the death of the President and Vice President, state the order of succession to the Presidential office. What plan of succession formerly prevailed? When and why was it changed? 20. What is the President's Cabinet? What does the Constitution say about the Cabinet? Name the present members of the Cabinet. 21. Classify the duties and powers of the President. Illustrate each class. 22. Name some of the war powers of the President. 23. How does a bill become a law? 24. Explain the use of the Presidential veto. 25. What is a "pocket veto"? 26. What change did Jackson make in the use of the veto? 27. Explain how a treaty is made. 28. Show why the power of appointment is one of the most important of the President's powers. 29. Why do senators and congressmen take part in appointments? 30. What does the Constitution say about guaranteeing "republican government"? 31. When does it become the President's duty to help suppress violence and insurrection within a State? 32. Why is the American President more powerful than the English king?

CHAPTER XVI

1. How large a body is the Senate? 2. How many senators are there from each state? How are they elected? 3. What qualifications are required of the senators? The length of their term of office? 4. Who is the presiding officer of the Senate? 5. Why is the Senate called a permanent body? 6. How are vacancies in the Senate filled? 7. Show that the Senate is a *federal* not a democratic body.

8. Explain the *legislative* powers of the Senate. The *executive* powers. The *judicial* powers. 9. Name the reasons for the Senate as set forth by Hamilton. 10. What arguments can you bring forward in favor of electing United States senators directly by a vote of the people? What objections are there to this? 11. Name some famous senators in United States history. 12. What reasons are given accounting for the success of the Senate?

CHAPTER XVII

1. Tell how the House of Representatives differs from the Senate. Why is the House called the "popular branch" of Congress? 2. Who may vote for representatives in Congress and for President? 3. What power determines our suffrage laws? 4. How is this power restricted? 5. What are the qualifications of representatives? 6. Is a congressman bound to reside in the district he represents? 7. How and when are representatives apportioned among the states? How many representatives are there? How many were there in 1789? 8. How are vacancies in the House filled? 9. When does Congress meet regularly? 10. Name the principal officers of the House. How chosen? 11. What are the duties of the clerk?

12. Explain the part of the party caucus in choosing the officers of the House. 13. What is the salary of a congressman? 14. Do you think it would be better if they had no salary, like members of Parliament in Great Britain? Could men be induced to serve without pay, for the sake of the public welfare? 15. Name the principal powers of Congress. (See the Constitution, p. iv.) 16. What powers are withheld from Congress? 17. Why are members of Congress exempt from arrest? 18. Explain the powers and importance of the Speaker's office. 19. Explain the importance of the Committee on Rules. 20. In the Senate the committees are elected by the Senate: How are they chosen in the House? How does this affect the power of the Speaker? 21. What is a quorum in the House? How was a quorum determined during the first century of our history? How was it determined by Speaker Reed? Why was the change important? 22. Explain the importance of the committee system in the legislation of the House. 23. Name a few of the principal committees, stating the nature of the business each deals with. 24. What is meant by "logrolling"? By "filibustering"? 25. How may the President influence Congress? 26. How may Congress influence the President?

CHAPTER XVIII

1. What is the chief function of the Judiciary? 2. Where is the judicial power of the United States vested? 3. What is meant by "inferior" and "superior" courts? What is an Appellate Court? 4. How are judges of the national courts made independent in their decisions? 5. Of what importance was the Judiciary Act of 1789? 6. How are the justices of the United States courts chosen? 7. What kinds of cases may be tried in the United States courts? 8. Why was the eleventh amendment adopted? What does it provide for? 9. What are the duties of the federal marshal? Of the district attorney?

10. What is the most important power of the Judiciary from a political point of view? What was thought of this power in the early history of our government? 11. In England there is no such thing as an unconstitutional, or invalid, act of Parliament. Explain. 12. What occurs in America if statutes, state or national, do not conform to the Constitution? 13. What is a *written* constitution? 14. Name four kinds of law in America. 15. How may the United States Constitution be amended? 16. In what other ways than by amendment has the Constitution grown? 17. What were Chief Justice Marshall's principles of construction? 18. What influence has the Supreme Court had in promoting nationality?

CHAPTER XIX

1. Show how the state touches the citizen many times where the nation touches him once. 2. What kind of crimes does the national law take notice of? 3. Name some of the forms of local self-government in the states. 4. How is a state constitution made? How may Congress have influence in the making of a state constitution? 5. How is a state constitution amended? 6. Name the departments of a state government. 7. Of what does the Executive Department consist? 8. What are the duties of the governor? 9. What are the duties of the state judges? How are they chosen? 10. Is voting a privilege or a right of citizenship? Explain your answer. 11. What does the fourteenth amendment say about citizenship? 12. Explain the importance of local self-government.

CHAPTER XX

1. What body has power to govern the territories? 2. What does it mean to organize a territory? 3. Why is the organizing act for a territory like a constitution for a state? 4. What departments of government are provided for in an organized territory? 5. Of what does the Executive of a territory consist? 6. Of what is the territorial legislature composed? 7. Of what does the territorial Judiciary consist? How and for what term are the judges of the territory appointed? 8. May a territory take part in a Presidential election or help to legislate in Congress? Why? 9. What is meant by our "insular possessions"? Does the Constitution apply to them? How may its provisions be made to apply to them? 10. What assurance of protection in their rights have the people of our island possessions?

CHAPTER XXI

1. What was the day appointed for the new government to go into effect? 2. Why was there delay? 3. Give the names of Washington's first Cabinet. 4. Give and explain the five parts of Hamilton's financial plan. 5. How did the Federalists and Republicans differ in their interpretation or construction of the Constitution? 6. What is meant by "liberal construction" of the Constitution? What by "strict construction"? 7. What great mistake did Minister Genet make? 8. Tell what you can of Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality. 9. Why was the Jay Treaty unpopular in the United States? 10. How did Fisher Ames save the treaty? 11. What was the nature of Washington's "Farewell Address"? 12. What sort of man was John Adams? 13. Explain the difficulty between France and the United States in the administration of John Adams. 14. What obnoxious acts were passed by the Federalists? 15. Why were the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions passed? What claims were made in the resolutions? 16. Explain the process by which Jefferson was elected President in 1800.

CHAPTER XXII

1. What was the population of the United States in 1800? 2. Tell what you can of the indented servants. 3. Describe stagecoach travel in 1800. 4. What was the condition of American literature in 1800?

CHAPTER XXIII

1. Why was Jefferson's election hailed with delight? 2. Why was the Judiciary Act of 1801 repealed? 3. How did Jefferson reduce the running expenses of the government? 4. What was the Naturalization Act of 1802? 5. Give the substance of the twelfth amendment. 6. Explain in outline the process by which Louisiana was acquired. 7. What was the importance of the purchase? 8. What question was raised in regard to its constitutionality? 9. Tell what you can of the policy of "impressment." 10. What was the "right of search"? How was it abused?

11. Why were France and England making depredations on American commerce? 12. What was the Embargo Act of 1807? 13. What was the Non-intercourse Act of 1809? 14. Tell what you can of Burr's "conspiracy." 15. Who were the "war hawks"? 16. What were the four important causes of the War of 1812? 17. Tell what you can of the Hartford Convention of 1814. 18. What is meant by the "era of good feeling"? 19. Explain fully the "Monroe Doctrine." 20. What was there that was peculiar about the election of 1824?

CHAPTER XXIV

1. What is meant by "internal improvements"? What was the opinion of President John Quincy Adams in regard to them? 2. What was the importance of the Erie Canal? 3. Why was the tariff of 1828 called the "Tariff of Abominations"? 4. What were the issues of the campaign of 1828?

CHAPTER XXV

1. In what respect was Jackson's time a new era? 2. What is the "Spoils System"? What was the "American Industrial Revolution"? 3. What was Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet"? 4. What was the "Great Debate" of 1830? 5. What was the doctrine of nullification? 6. Explain the connection between Nullification and the tariff. 7. Explain Jackson's attitude toward the United States Bank. 8. What were the results of Jackson's foreign policy? 9. What was the nature of the campaign of 1840?

CHAPTER XXVI

1. How did the slavery question first come prominently into national politics after the adoption of the Constitution? 2. What was the early expectation as to the permanence of slavery in the states? 3. Explain how the invention of the cotton gin tended to strengthen slavery. 4. Explain what is meant by the "equilibrium of power" between the slave states and the free, and show how this was maintained up to 1820. Did the slave and the free states have equal power in the House of Representatives? Why? 5. State the significance of the New Orleans Act of 1804, and tell why Congress allowed slavery in Louisiana. 6. Why did Josiah Quincy oppose the admission of Louisiana into the Union? How did he regard the Union and the Constitution? 7. State two grounds of opposition in the North to the admission of Missouri as a slave state. 8. How did Northern anti-slavery men look upon the extension of slavery? 9. Show the injustice of extending the "three-fifths compromise" to new slave states.

10. State the Southern arguments in favor of the admission of Missouri as a slave state. 11. Tell how a territory becomes a state. 12. Explain the term "rider" in legislation, and tell how the Missouri bill was attached as a "rider" to the Maine bill. 13. Explain the terms "deadlock," "conference committee." 14. State clearly the terms of the Missouri Compromise. Who proposed this agreement? 15. What was proposed in the Tallmadge Amendment to the first Missouri bill? 16. Give three reasons why the Missouri Compromise was of great importance in our history. 17. What did Henry Clay have to do with the Missouri Compromise? 18. Notice when this Compromise again becomes prominent in American history.

CHAPTER XXVII

1. Give an account of the work of William Lloyd Garrison. When did he establish the *Liberator*? What did this journal stand for? 2. Give the principles and name some of the founders of the American Antislavery Society. Why was the organization of this society an "important boundary mark" in American history? 3. Describe the methods of the Abolitionists. 4. What was the effect of the abolition agitation on the slaveholders?

5. Show how the abolition movement seemed to make harder the condition of the slaves. 6. What was the attitude of the South toward Garrison? Give an account of the Garrison mob, 1835. 7. Explain why the Southern people were offended at the abolition attacks. 8. Make a list of the arguments of the South in defense of slavery. 9. Give an account of the Nat Turner insurrection. Did it have any connection with the abolition movement? 10. State the methods by which the people in the North attempted to suppress abolitionism.

11. What was the attitude of W. E. Channing toward slavery and abolitionism? 12. How do you account for the growth of abolition sentiment in the face of so much opposition? 13. When and why did a split in the ranks of the Abolitionists occur? State the principles of the "Garrisonians" and of the "Liberty Party men." 14. Give an account of the attempt to exclude abolition literature from the mails. What did this amount to? 15. Give an account of the struggle over the right of petition in the House of Representatives. What was the "gag rule"? 16. What position did John Quincy Adams take on the subject of slavery and what service did he render? 17. What was indicated by the discussions over slavery in the halls of Congress? 18. How did the Abolitionists feel about slavery in the District of Columbia? When was slavery established there by national law? What was Clay's position on this subject? 19. What was Garrison's attitude toward the Constitution and the Union? Why did he take this position? What can you say in defense of it? 20. What was John Quincy Adams's attitude toward the right of petition? What was his position on the right of Congress to interfere with slavery in the states? What influence did this have on Lincoln during the Civil War?

CHAPTER XXVIII

1. What territory did Texas embrace after our purchase of Louisiana? When and how was the ownership of this territory determined? When were American settlements made in Texas? Under whose leadership? 2. What causes led to the revolt of Texas from Mexico? 3. Give an account of the massacre of the Alamo and of the battle of San Jacinto. Why was San Jacinto an important battle? 4. Give several reasons why the Texans wished to be annexed to the United States. 5. What reasons were given for opposition to annexation? 6. What were the party campaign issues in 1844? 7. State Polk's position on the an-

nexation of Texas. Clay's position. 8. What influence did the Abolitionists have in defeating Clay in 1844? Do you think they were justified in voting for a third party candidate when there was no hope of electing him?

9. Who was James G. Birney? 10. How did President Tyler offend the Whig party? What was the effect on Tyler's Cabinet? Why did Webster remain in the Cabinet? 11. What did Tyler do to promote the annexation of Texas? 12. What did Calhoun do for annexation? 13. How did Great Britain feel about slavery in Texas? What did Calhoun think of this? 14. What was Calhoun's motive in working for annexation? 15. What influence did Calhoun's policy and the annexation of Texas have on subsequent disputes over slavery? 16. Tell how annexation was brought about, and state the conditions on which Texas came into the Union.

17. What was meant by the Oregon country in the early part of the nineteenth century? What nations claimed territorial rights in that region? 18. State the basis of the American claim to Oregon. Of the British claim. 19. How did Great Britain and the United States settle their conflicting claims for a while, from 1818 to 1838? 20. What position did the Democratic party take on the Oregon question in 1844? 21. Tell how the Oregon dispute was finally and peaceably settled.

22. State the causes of the Mexican War. 23. What territory did Texas claim? 24. Tell how President Polk brought on the war. What claim did he make as to territory, and why did he say Mexico caused the war? 25. Why was Congress under obligation to support Polk? 26. Do you think our government was to blame for the Mexican War? Why? 27. Give an account of General Taylor's campaign. Of General Scott's campaign. Of the conquest of California and New Mexico. 28. Name the principal battles of the Mexican war and locate the places on the map. 29. State how the war ended, giving the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

CHAPTER XXIX

1. How did the slavery question come to the front during the Mexican War? 2. What was the Wilmot Proviso? Explain its importance. 3. Name the parties, issues, and candidates in the election of 1848. 4. Give an account of the discovery of gold in California. 5. How was California's admission to the Union related to the slavery question?

6. Name the questions in dispute between the North and the South in 1850. 7. How were these various questions settled by Clay's compromise measures? 8. State the Southern view on the rights of slave property in the territories. The antislavery view. The compromise view. 9. What was President Taylor's plan for the treatment of the territories? 10. What did Calhoun think was necessary in order to save the Union in 1850? State Webster's position on the compromise, as voiced in his famous "Seventh of March Speech." What was Seward's position? 11. Give an account of the election of 1852. 12. Describe the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and tell how it was received in the North. What was the "underground railroad"? 13. Of what historical importance was Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin"?

CHAPTER XXX

1. What was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill? Who was its author? What reason did he give for offering the bill, and what did he say was its purpose? 2. Give four reasons why the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was important as seen in its results. 3. What was the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats"? The Ostend Manifesto? 4. Explain the effect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act on political parties. 5. Give a brief account of the struggle for Kansas, explaining the work of the "border ruffians" and the "New England Emigrant Aid Society." 6. Give an account of the assault on Senator Sumner, 1856, and indicate its significance. 7. Give an account of the election of 1856. Who were the "Know-nothings," and what were their principles?

CHAPTER XXXI

1. What were the two long-standing disputes over slavery that came up to the Supreme Court for settlement in 1857? 2. Give an account of the Dred Scott case, and give three important points involved in the decision of the Supreme Court in that case. 3. How did the Dred Scott decision touch the primary principle of the Republican party? How did it support the Southern view of slavery? 4. Explain the question involved in the Lecompton struggle. 5. Give an account of Lincoln and Douglas, and the issues involved in the famous Lincoln-Douglas debate in 1858. 6. Give an account of John Brown's raid, and tell how it helped to bring on the war. 7. Give an account of

the election of 1860. Name the four parties and state the attitude of each on the subject of slavery in the territories. 8. Explain the historical significance of Lincoln's election in 1860.

CHAPTER XXXII

1. Why was South Carolina the first state to secede? Give an account of her action. What reasons did she give? What did the Southern people believe about their allegiance to their state? 2. Give an account of the formation of the Southern Confederacy. 3. What was President Buchanan's position on secession and coercion? Give an account of the divisions in his Cabinet, and tell how the South first resisted national authority. 4. Give an account of the Crittenden Compromise and of other attempts to save the Union without war. What was the final position of the North?

CHAPTER XXXIII

1. Give a brief biography of Abraham Lincoln. Give his position on the slavery question and on equal rights for all men. Would he have interfered with slavery in the South? 2. Show that slavery was the cause of the Civil War. Tell what the North was fighting for in the war. What the South was fighting for. How could slavery be the *cause* of the war and not the *object* of the war? 3. Give an account of the attack on Fort Sumter and its effect upon the North. 4. Compare the strength of the two sections, North and South, at the beginning of the Civil War. 5. Of what importance was the secession of Virginia? Show how the country was unprepared for war. 6. What were the first military objects in view on each side? Explain the importance of the Shenandoah valley. 7. Give an account of the battle of Bull Run, and tell how "Stonewall" Jackson got his name. What were the effects of this battle? 8. What important work did General McClellan perform for the Army of the Potomac? 9. Explain the importance of the blockade of the Southern ports, and tell how it was carried out. Give an account of the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, and tell why it was important. 10. Give an account of the *Trent* Affair, and state the attitude of Great Britain toward the United States.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1. Give three purposes of the Federal forces in the campaign in the West. 2. Tell how Missouri was saved for the Union. State the position of Kentucky in the war. 3. Show the importance of the control of the rivers in the war. 4. Give an account of the campaign against Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. 5. Trace on the map the Confederate lines of defense before and after this campaign, and explain the results of the Union victory at Fort Donelson. 6. Give an account of the battle of Shiloh and of the capture of New Orleans. Locate Shiloh and Corinth. 7. Locate on the map the following battle fields, and give the date and result of each battle: Perryville, Mill Springs, Murfreesboro. 8. Give an account of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign, naming the principal battles and giving the general result. 9. Locate the scene of the following battles, giving the result in each case: Second Battle of Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg. 10. What did President Lincoln regard as the purpose of the war? How did this influence his policy toward slavery? 11. Who declared the slaves "contraband of war"? Why did he do so? Explain the meaning of this. 12. Name some antislavery acts of Congress and of the President before Emancipation. 13. Give the meaning of the Emancipation Proclamation, and tell how it came to be issued. 14. What was the extent of the party opposition to the war in the North? What were the reasons for this opposition? What effect did it have in 1862?

CHAPTER XXXV

1. Give an account of the battle of Gettysburg, and show its importance. 2. Commit to memory and recite Lincoln's famous speech at Gettysburg. 3. Give an account of the fall of Vicksburg, the battle of Chickamauga, and the fighting around Chattanooga. 4. Give an account of Grant's campaign against Lee around Richmond in 1864. 5. Give an account of Sheridan's work in the Shenandoah valley. 6. Who were the "Peace Democrats," and what did they dislike in the conduct of the war? Give an account of the election of 1864. 7. Give an account of Sherman's capture of Atlanta and his march to the sea. Of what special importance were these events? 8. Give an account of General Thomas and his army in the battles of Franklin

and Nashville. 9. Tell of Farragut's operations in Mobile Bay. 10. Give an account of the Confederate privateer, the *Alabama*. 11. Give an account of the capture of Richmond and the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. 12. Give an account of the assassination of President Lincoln. 13. What may be said of the cost of the war? Show how the South suffered especially. 14. Recite four notable results of the Civil War. 15. Give an account of the grand parade of the Union armies in 1865, and tell how the soldiers retired to the "patriotism of peace."

CHAPTER XXXVI

1. Of what did the problem of Reconstruction consist? What was Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction? 2. What was the character of Andrew Johnson, and what was his plan of Reconstruction? 3. Give four reasons why Congress rejected President Johnson's plan. 4. Explain the character of the vagrancy laws of the South passed in 1865. 5. What was the Freedmen's Bureau? What objections were raised to its management? 6. What is meant by conferring civil rights on the negro? Why was this done? 7. What were the results of the war that the Northern Republicans wanted to make secure? How was the question of representation concerned in the matter? 8. Give fully the provisions of the fourteenth amendment.

9. How was Reconstruction an issue in the elections of 1866? What was the effect of President Johnson's "swinging round the circle"? 10. State the provisions of the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, 1867. Who was the leader of Congress in the passage of these acts? 11. Define the Tenure of Office Act, and describe the impeachment of President Johnson. 12. Give an account of the election of 1868. 13. Describe the work of the Reconstruction governments in the South after 1867. Define "scalawag," "carpetbagger," "bulldozer," "Ku Klux Klan," "Force Bills." 14. Give the process by which the Southern whites again obtained control of their state governments. 15. What do you think was the principal mistake in Reconstruction? Why? 16. Give an account of the election of 1872. 17. What political scandals arose under Grant's administration? 18. Describe the panic of 1873 and the hard times following. 19. Explain the rise of the Greenback party. 20. Give an account of the election of 1876. Tell how the Electoral Commission of 1876-1877 was made up, and how it voted.

CHAPTER XXXVII

1. Why is Hayes's administration the opening of a new era?
2. Tell what you can of the "resumption of specie payment" in 1879.
3. What circumstances led to the death of Garfield?
4. Tell what you can of the Pendleton Act of 1883.
5. Why was the Presidential succession law of 1886 passed?
6. Why was the Interstate Commerce Commission established?
7. What is the Australian Ballot System?
8. Under what tariff act are we now living? What is the general rate of duties?
9. What is Senator Lodge's plan for the restriction of immigration?
10. Explain the causes of the Spanish-American War.
11. What were the terms of the Treaty of Peace of 1898?
12. Why did the Filipinos rebel against the United States?
13. When and why were the Hawaiian Islands annexed?
14. What is the importance of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama?

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Diacritic marks used: āle, făt, ärm, fall, cāre, ēve, ěnd, hêr, ĭce, ĭll, ōld, ǒdd, fōod, fōot, ūse, ŭp. Sqq. = following pages.

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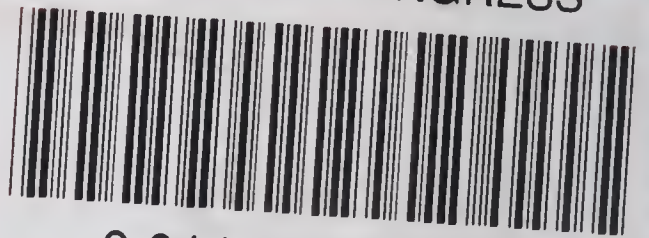
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